

Reframing the role of public open space as a tool for urban restructuring. The case of Cape Town

Original

Reframing the role of public open space as a tool for urban restructuring. The case of Cape Town / Bodino, Miriam. - (2019 Mar 15), pp. 1-303. [10.6092/polito/porto/2729318]

Availability:

This version is available at: 11583/2729318 since: 2019-03-26T08:58:40Z

Publisher:

Politecnico di Torino

Published

DOI:10.6092/polito/porto/2729318

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Doctoral Dissertation
Doctoral Program in Architecture. History and Project (30th Cycle)

Reframing the role of public open space as a tool for urban restructuring. The case of Cape Town

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* * * * *

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Politecnico di Torino
March 15, 2019

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.....

Miriam Bodino
Turin, March 15, 2019

Abstract

UN-Habitat states that the economic gap between the urban poor and the rich is very much on the increase. The reasons for this phenomenon are complex and touch on many disciplines, affecting and affected by economic, social, cultural, political and spatial aspects of urban life. Therefore, within the urban disciplines, one of the greatest challenges of contemporary cities is growing spatial inequality. This thesis focuses on the spatial dimension of the phenomenon of inequality, and on the dichotomy of exclusion and inclusion. This objective is pursued through the analysis of the role of public open space as a tool of urban restructuring, as a way to foster spatial justice and inclusion and to combat urban inequalities. In order to investigate this topic, the thesis reflects on the *narrative of separation* as the dystopia of urban design and public space. This research aims to demonstrate that public space is not a panacea for spatial inequality, but it is also necessary to reframe the role of public space beyond rhetoric. The objective is to define a new urban narrative capable of reinterpreting the importance of designing the *voids*, the *empty space*, the public open space. Implicitly, the thesis also examines the relevance of the urban design project and the current role of architects within the current crisis in the discipline of urban planning.

The research involved a mixed methodology which included an extensive literature review and archival research and the use of a case study method that helped the author to test, verify and compare the theoretical analysis. Cape Town, South Africa, was selected as the case study since it is considered the most segregated city in the world where spatial aspects of separation are particularly evident due to the legacy of both apartheid and modernism. Geographical and theoretical frameworks were made explicit to define the lens through which public space has been examined, and to identify the frames of reference applied to the analysis of the case study.

Through the examination of policies of Cape Town, the thesis proves that since the 1990s a small but extremely significant amount of attention to public

space has been increasing in the city. Even if the overall organization of physical space has not changed according to these theoretical achievements, these attempts at inclusion have shown the possibility of an alternative way of doing things. These attempts were tested through a detailed study of one of the most disadvantaged areas of the city: Khayelitsha township. In particular, the author makes a critical analysis of the flagship project of the Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading (VPUU) programme, locally promoted as *best practice* project for local and national public space intervention. Time spent on site, observation of reality and interviews with main stakeholders and simple local users was put together in this research in order to evaluate the project with an alternative perspective. In fact, a set of critical spatial lenses through which to reframe the public space were extrapolated from the analysis of the case study. The VPUU project works like acupuncture, providing quality public spaces in a marginal area of the city, demonstrating the slow progress of Cape Town desegregation. In reality, the influence of this kind of project is limited since it only has effect on the neighbourhood scale and it does not solve the spatial inequalities of the whole city. Nevertheless, it triggers a change of mind-set and it represents an element of discontinuity which has generated a different point of view. Even if it is small and partial, it represents a huge step forward in the process of restructuring the city.

In conclusion, the thesis provides an extensive review of the current process of inclusion through the analysis of public space in Cape Town and opens up to other future and interdisciplinary research. The author reframes the role of public open space: it is a tool not only to restructure the apartheid city, but also to reinterpret other fragmented contemporary cities.

Acknowledgment

PhD journey is a path of individual, personal and professional growth. Nevertheless, this thesis would not have been possible without the support and availability of many people to whom I owe my due thanks.

Firstly, I would like to acknowledge my tutor, Prof. Paolo Mellano who believed in me and in my work, sometimes more than myself. He spurred me on in times of difficulties and always listened to me attentively: heartfelt thanks.

A special acknowledgment goes to my referees, Prof. David Dewar and Prof. Paolo Ceccarelli, who, through their criticisms and suggestions, have helped this work to become more coherent and clearer than the initial version. To Prof. Francesca Frassoldati, to Prof. Daniela De Leo and Prof. Claudio Rossi, who accepted a place on the examination board, but who also gave me important food for thought during the writing of the thesis. Moreover, in the process of elaborating this research I had the chance to receive advice and constructive criticism from many professors I want to thank: Prof. Francesca De Filippi, Prof. Filippo De Pieri, Prof. Cristina Bianchetti, Prof. Francesca Governa; Prof. Michele Bonino, Prof. Matteo Robiglio, Prof. Ananya Roy.

In South Africa, I was lucky enough and also determined to meet many amazing people who listen to my questions and my doubts, who answered me or simply who shared their time and helped me to explore such an amazing country. Each of them has been important for the achievement of my PhD as well as making me feel home during my sojourn in South Africa. Hoping to remember everyone¹ (in random order): Prof. Sophie Oldfield, Prof. Toma Berlanda, Prof. David Dewar, Prof. Warren Smit, Mercy Brown Luthango, Prof. Fabio Todeschini, Prof. Edgar Pieterse, Prof. Susan Parnell, Architect Lucien Le

¹ For reasons of privacy some people (especially those from Khayelitsha) have preferred not to give their full names, but it is absolutely necessary to thank them for their contribution by mentioning them above.

Grange, Stephen Boshoff, Prof. Julian Cooke, Prof. Vanessa Watson, Bobby Gould-Pratt, Cathy Stone, Sonja Spamer, Fadly Isaac, Prof. Ian Low, Andrew Boraine, Prof. Richard Matzopoulos, Diana Schez, Stella Papanicolau, Matteo Fraschini, Prof. Mary Nassimbeni, Sharone Tomer, Daniel Splaingard, Prof. Salma Ismal, Prof. Francois Viruly, Emil Sinclair, Piet Lown, Suraya Sheba, Sabina Favaro; Michael Krause, Alastair Graham, Andreas Gensinke, Architect Jackie James, architect Nicola Irving, architect Tarna Klitzer, Marco Geretto, Ronal Haiden, architect Joe Noero, architects Heinrich and Ilze Wolff, architect Carin Smut, Marcela Guerrero Casas, Nazeem Hardy, Ronald Mukaya; Najma Patel, Janusz Skarzynski, Ryan Fester, Mcedo Mngqibisa, Aswi, Joe Schaffers, Ayanda, Thomas, Noxolo, Suazi, Luleka, Tony, Elroy, Foundiswa, Vuyile, Mdebuka, Thembakazi, Mrs. Nmathemba, Basil, Tomas and Tomas, Betty and Nonkosi, Mavela, Tinanshe, Joseph, Zandi, Mr. Smbsatha, Mpofu, Yanga, Wakhe, Aviwe, Anelisa, Lulama, Anele, Sam, Miss Mavis, Sibonqisewi, Lungilem, Sizwe, Michael, Vivien, Tembela, Mr. Lambatha, Siviwe, Mr. Mthetheleli, Zwane, Siyabulela, Zan, Mr. Ayanda Rawutini; Marina, Parth, Ivan, Niq, Avishek, Kris, Lele, Stefanie, Peter, Serron, Anje, Christopher, Barnaby, Mark... and many other whose name I could not make note of.

My thanks also go to my PhD colleagues for the many discussions we have had and for the mutual support we enjoyed.

And finally, to all the people dear to me, who have put up with me in these four years!

*I would like to dedicate
this thesis to my family.*

*Alla mia famiglia, la più speciale che esista: alla mia
mamma e al mio papà che sono per me sempre stati
di grande esempio, a Nivruti, Nisha e Silvia che non
sanno di essere sempre mia fonte di ispirazione, a
Matisse che crescendo mi ricorda che gli anni
passano... Ed in primis a Fabio, che mi aiuta ogni
giorno ad essere il meglio di me, che mi sostiene nelle
fragilità e con cui condivido la gioia di crescere...
insieme...!*

Contents

1. Introduction.....	1
1.1 The problem.....	1
1.2 Research questions	4
1.3 Why Cape Town?	6
1.4 Method.....	8
1.5 Thesis structure.....	11
2. Defining the framework: geographical context	13
2.1 South Africa.....	13
2.1.1 Apartheid & space.....	16
2.1.2 Significance of the term post-apartheid	22
3. Defining the framework: theoretical context	25
3.1 Lived cities	25
3.1.1 The paradox of African cities versus cities of Africa	25
3.1.2 Telescopic narratives and alternative frames of reference.....	29
3.2 The potential of public space.....	35
3.2.1 Defining public space in South Africa.....	35
3.2.2 Public space for the urban poor	41
3.2.3 A rights-based approach	46
3.2.4 Upgrading and urban acupuncture approach	49
4. Cape Town and the pursuit of inclusion	53
4.1 The urban transition of Cape Town and its public spaces.....	53
4.1.1 Colonial origin	53
4.1.2 Modern development	57
4.1.3 The peculiarities of Cape Town	69
4.1.4 Housing focus: a political interest.....	75
4.2 The pursuit of (spatial) inclusion: post-1994 policies	85
4.2.1 Cape Town spatial development framework (SDF)	89
4.2.1.1 Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework (MSDF)	90
4.2.1.2 Municipal Spatial Development Framework (Muni SDF)	94
4.2.2 Public space policies	97

4.2.2.1 Dignified Places Programme (DPP) – Quality Public Space (QPS).....	97
4.2.2.2 2010 FIFA World Cup legacy projects	104
4.2.2.3 Integrative approach.....	110
5. Learning from Cape Town desegregation: Khayelitsha	113
5.1 Desegregation process: inclusion attempt?.....	113
5.2 Khayelitsha. Spatial analysis	117
5.2.1 Origin. From housing solution to alienated environment	117
5.2.2 Public Space in Khayelitsha.....	133
5.2.3 Demographic and socio-economic conditions	144
5.3 VPUU programme	146
5.3.1 Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design	146
5.3.2 Methodology for VPUU programme analysis	149
5.3.3 Harare project analysis and inspirations	154
5.3.3.1 Notes about Harare project	186
6. Conclusions.....	199
6.1 Final notes and visions	200
6.2 Research challenges and future research	219
7. References.....	223
References: part 1+2+3.....	223
References: part 4	230
References: part 5+6.....	235
8. Appendices.....	241
Appendix 1. Questionnaire. Semi structure interviews	241
Appendix 2. Interviews’ map and photos	244
Appendix 3. Photos of Harare project	246
Appendix 4. VPUU project plans	268
4.1 Completed project report – 2014	268
4.2 Library project - 2009	275
4.3 New Environmental & Health Offices - 2009	281
4.4 Live work housing proposal - 2009	283

List of figures

Fig. 1: Unequal scenes, by J. Miller 2016.....	6
Fig. 2: South Africa key plan, M. Bodino, 2018.....	13
Fig. 3: Rainbow multiracial South Africa.....	14
Fig. 4: Map of South Africa, M. Bodino, 2017.....	15
Fig. 5: Apartheid: the tyranny of racism made law, UN-Habitat 1982.....	17
Fig. 6: The segregation city, by Prof. R.J. Davies, 1981	18
Fig. 7: The apartheid city, by Prof. R.J. Davies, 1981.....	19
Fig. 8: Urban Africa Key words, M. Bodino, 2015	27
Fig. 9: Provocative entrance of the <i>Apartheid Museum</i> in Johannesburg.....	40
Fig. 10: South African major cities' GINI coefficient (income based)	43
Fig. 11: GINI index: 1993, 1996, 2000, 2006, 2008, 2011.....	44
Fig. 12: Cape Town's unique topography, by M. Bodino, 2018	54
Fig. 13: Public space in historical map of CT, by G. Thompson, 1827.....	55
Fig. 14: Asymmetrical development of Cape Town.....	56
Fig. 15: Growth of the population in the Cape Town metropolitan area.....	57
Fig. 16: Cape Town Foreshore Plan, Final report, 1946.....	59
Fig. 17: Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) diagram	60
Fig. 18: Hierarchy of roads and environmental areas, 1963	60
Fig. 19: Mismatch between places of work and residence, by I. Turok, 2001	62
Fig. 20: Cape Town in 1941-1942, map by M. Bodino, 2017.....	63
Fig. 21: Cape Town in 1958-1962, map by M. Bodino, 2017.....	64
Fig. 22: Cape Town in 1983, map by M. Bodino, 2017	65
Fig. 23: Cape Town in 1992-1995, map by M. Bodino, 2017.....	66
Fig. 24: Cape Town in 2000, map by M. Bodino, 2017	67
Fig. 25: Cape Town in 2010, map by M. Bodino, 2017	68
Fig. 26: District Six forced removals: aerial photos 1980-2008.....	70
Fig. 27: CoCT density distribution (2011), by M. Bodino, 2017	73
Fig. 28: CoCT race distribution (2011), by M. Bodino, 2017	74
Fig. 29: Aerial photo of Khayelitsha township in Cape Town, 1985	75
Fig. 30: From housing to sustainable settlement, SACN 2014.....	77
Fig. 31: Timeline of politics and policies, by M. Bodino, 2018.....	86
Fig. 32: Schematic illustration of racial inequality, MSDF 1996	91
Fig. 33: Area of development priority, MSDF 1996	91
Fig. 34: Existing pattern of spatial development, MSDF 1996	93
Fig. 35: Metropolitan Spatial Development framework, MSDF 1996	93
Fig. 36: Conceptual approach, Muni SDF 1999	95
Fig. 37: Adaptation of equity concept on site, Muni SDF 1999.....	95
Fig. 38: Process of development of centres, Muni SDF 1999	98
Fig. 39: Ideal urban design and DPP concept, 2003	99

Fig. 40: Distribution of DPP and QPS projects, NM&A 2010.....	101
Fig. 41: Example of an abandoned QPP in Khayelitsha, by M. Bodino, 2017.....	103
Fig. 42: Integrated and balance settlements, CoCT, 2006	105
Fig. 43: Linking communities to the sea, CoCT, 2006	105
Fig. 44: Proposed system of citywide public and civic places, CoCT, 2006.....	106
Fig. 45: Rethinking strategic movement infrastructure, CoCT, 2006.....	107
Fig. 46: Fan mile linear public space, CoCT, 2006	108
Fig. 47: VPUU concept, 2014.....	111
Fig. 48: Inclusion diagram, by M. Bodino, 2018.....	114
Fig. 49: CT segregation and inclusion, by M. Bodino, 2018.....	115
Fig. 50: Black people have been pushed away from CT centre.....	117
Fig. 51: Khayelitsha key plan, by M. Bodino, 2018	118
Fig. 52: Interior of a permanent home in Khayelitsha, 1984	119
Fig. 53: Alienated environment of Khayelitsha	119
Fig. 54: Mitchell's Plain map, 1983.....	121
Fig. 55: Khayelitsha new town structure plan, 1994	122
Fig. 56: Khayelitsha evolution, by M. Bodino, 2017.....	123
Fig. 57: Khayelitsha lack of urbanity, 1985.....	125
Fig. 58: Khayelitsha map, 2010	128
Fig. 59: Khayelitsha map, by M. Bodino, 2018.....	129
Fig. 60: Formal house, 2016	131
Fig. 61: Backyard shack, 2016.....	131
Fig. 62: Shacks in an informal settlement, 2016.....	132
Fig. 63: Shack in an informal settlement, 2016	132
Fig. 64: Area of analysis: key plan, by M. Bodino	133
Fig. 65: Portion of Harare. Aerial photo, 2014.....	134
Fig. 66: Infrastructure diagram, by M. Bodino, 2018	135
Fig. 67: Formal housing, by M. Bodino, 2018	135
Fig. 68: Extensions (blue), backyard-shacks (yellow), by M. Bodino, 2018	136
Fig. 69: Informal settlements, by M. Bodino, 2018.....	136
Fig. 70: Google street view images, by Google, 2009.....	137
Fig. 71: Figure-ground diagram – built space in black, by M. Bodino, 2018.....	138
Fig. 72: Unbuilt space in black, by M. Bodino, 2018.....	139
Fig. 73: Potential public open space, by M. Bodino, 2018.....	139
Fig. 74: Aerial photo of Khayelitsha construction, 1990.....	142
Fig. 75: A park and core housing units in Khayelitsha, 1985.....	142
Fig. 76: Sandy roads in Khayelitsha, 1990	143
Fig. 77: Street used to protest, 1990	143
Fig. 78: Khayelitsha public facilities distribution in 1999, by M. Bodino, 2019	155
Fig. 79: Khayelitsha public facilities distribution in 2019, by M. Bodino, 2019	156
Fig. 80: Examples of public space facilities layout, by M. Bodino, 2019.....	157
Fig. 81: Harare area of intervention, by M. Bodino, 2018.....	158
Fig. 82: VPUU timeline, by VPUU	160

Fig. 83: Harare urban design approach, VPUU 2009	163
Fig. 84: Harare project map of interventions, by M. Bodino, 2018.....	165
Fig. 85: Harare creation of public system, by M. Bodino, 2018.....	167
Fig. 86: Precinct 1, by M. Bodino, 2018.....	168
Fig. 87: Precinct 2, by M. Bodino, 2018.....	171
Fig. 88: Precinct 3, by M. Bodino, 2018.....	173
Fig. 89: Precinct 4, by M. Bodino, 2018.....	175
Fig. 90: Harare library site plan, VPUU 2009	177
Fig. 91: Harare square and library views, by M. Bodino, 2018.....	177
Fig. 92: Precinct 5, by M. Bodino, 2018.....	178
Fig. 93: Spontaneous use of open spaces (1999), by M. Bodino, 2018	182
Fig. 94: Spontaneous use of open spaces (2008), by M. Bodino, 2018	183
Fig. 95: Spontaneous use of open spaces (2010), by M. Bodino, 2018	184
Fig. 96: Spontaneous use of open spaces (2014), by M. Bodino, 2018	185
Fig. 97: Network of spaces, by M. Bodino, 2018	190
Fig. 98: Building edges instead of fences, by M. Bodino, 2018.....	191
Fig. 99: Concentration of activities and uses, by M. Bodino, 2018.....	192
Fig. 100: Pedestrian human scale, by M. Bodino, 2018	193
Fig. 101: Providing point of reference, by M. Bodino, 2018.....	194
Fig. 102: Providing beauty and protection, by M. Bodino, 2018	195
Fig. 103: Diagram of existing public space structure, by M. Bodino, 2019.....	196
Fig. 104: Diagram of proposed public space infrastructure, by M. Bodino, 2019 ...	197
Fig. 105: Inclusion vs separation features, by M. Bodino, 2019	204
Fig. 106: Change of perspective	205
Fig. 107: Equality versus equity, by C. Froehle, 2012	209
Fig. 108: Dispersion vs effective organization, by M. Bodino, 2018.....	212
Fig. 109: Unbalance hierarchy vs equity, by M. Bodino, 2018.....	212
Fig. 110: Landscape as separation or as opportunity, by M. Bodino, 2018.....	212
Fig. 111: Chaos and fragmentation vs complexity, by M. Bodino, 2018.....	212
Fig. 112: The Eisleben Road.....	214
Fig. 113: Alternative uses of spaces: <i>Open Streets</i> event.....	214
Fig. 114: Origin of participants in an <i>Open Street</i> event, 2017	215
Fig. 115: Project for Public Space diagram	243
Fig. 116: What is perceived as a great place?, by M. Bodino, 2018.....	243
Fig. 117: Interviews: precinct 1 and 3, by M. Bodino, 2018.....	244
Fig. 118: Interviews: precinct 4 and 5, by M. Bodino, 2018	245
Fig. 119: VPUU project key plan, by M. Bodino, 2018	246
Fig. 120: Active box next to Harare station, 2017	247
Fig. 121: Station active box, 2017	247
Fig. 122: Station activity box, 2017.....	248
Fig. 123: Station live-work units, 2017	248
Fig. 124: Walkway links just after the bridge crossing, 2017	249
Fig. 125: Walkway links, 2017.....	249

Fig. 126: Walkway links, 2017	250
Fig. 127: Walkway links towards urban park, 2017	250
Fig. 128: Harare urban park, 2017	251
Fig. 129: Harare urban park, 2017	251
Fig. 130: Harare urban park, 2017	252
Fig. 131: Harare urban park, 2017	252
Fig. 132: FIFA football for hope centre, 2017	252
Fig. 133: Cycle route from Harare urban park, 2017	253
Fig. 134: Active box in Harare urban park, 2016	253
Fig. 135: Active box in Harare urban park, 2016	254
Fig. 136: Activity box in Harare urban park, 2016	254
Fig. 137: Kwamfundo sport facility, 2017	255
Fig. 138: Kwamfundo sport facility, 2017	255
Fig. 139: Peace park, 2017	256
Fig. 140: Peace park, 2017	256
Fig. 141: Back of business hub with caretaker's house, 2017	257
Fig. 142: One side of the business hub, 2017	257
Fig. 143: Another side of the business hub, 2017	258
Fig. 144: Side of Harare library, 2017	258
Fig. 145: Harare square, 2016	259
Fig. 146: Harare square, 2016	259
Fig. 147: Harare square, 2017	259
Fig. 148: Entrance of Harare library, 2016	260
Fig. 149: Harare library, 2017	260
Fig. 150: Harare square north side, 2017	261
Fig. 151: Harare square south side, 2017	261
Fig. 152: Harare square north side, 2017	261
Fig. 153: Harare library: interior, 2017	262
Fig. 154: Harare library: interior, 2016	262
Fig. 155: Harare library entrance, 2017	263
Fig. 156: Harare square, 2017	263
Fig. 157: Harare square, 2017	264
Fig. 158: Harare square, 2017	264
Fig. 159: Example of Harare square live-work unit, 2017	265
Fig. 160: Back side of live-work unit, 2017	265
Fig. 161: VPUU path in Endlovini, 2017	266
Fig. 162: VPUU path in Endlovini, 2017	266
Fig. 163: VPUU Emthonjeni in Endlovini, 2017	267
Fig. 164: VPUU intervention in Endlovini, 2017	267

Abbreviations

Africans	Black race/ Black Africans
ANC	African National Congress
CBD	central Business District
CBO	Community-Based Organization
CLPP	Coloured Labour Preference Policy
CoCT	City of Cape Town
CMSDF	Cape Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework
CPTED	Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design
CSIR	Council for Scientific and Industrial Research
DA	Democratic Alliance
DAG	Development Action Group no profit organization
DPP	Dignified Places Programme
ECD	Early Child Development
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
ITP	Integrated Transport Plan
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
Muni SDF	Municipal Spatial Development Framework
MURP	Mayoral Urban Regeneration Programme
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NPC	Not-for-Profit Company
NGI	National Geo-spatial Information (Department)
O&M	Operational and Maintenance
QPS	Quality Public Space
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RSEP/ VPUU	Regional Socio-Economic Programme and Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading (Western Cape)
SACN	South Africa Cities Network
SDF	Spatial Development Framework
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
TOD	Transit Oriented Development
UPRU	Urban Problems Research Unit, University of Cape Town
UCT	University of Cape Town
UDF	United Democratic Front
VPUU	<i>Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading programme</i>

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 The problem

According to UN-Habitat, “today the world is more unequal than it was twenty years ago: 75 per cent of the world’s cities have higher levels of income inequalities than two decades ago [...]. The spatial concentration of low-income unskilled workers in segregated residential quarters acts as a poverty trap with severe job restrictions, high rates of gender disparities, deteriorated living conditions, social exclusion and marginalization and high incidence of crime. [...] There is an urgent need at this juncture for new planning visions, strategies, policies and tools that can transform our planet of cities into a planet of inclusive cities” (UN-Habitat 2016, 69). Hence UN-Habitat stated that the economic gap between the urban poor and the rich is increasing.

The aim of this thesis is to understand if there is a spatial dimension linked to the phenomenon of inequality. The dichotomy of exclusion and inclusion² is challenged through the exploration of the relationship between space (in particular public open space) and inclusion. On one hand, the research deals with the combination of socio-economic, cultural and political aspects which are strictly linked with spatial ones³. On the other hand, the research reflects on the rhetoric of public space and on the importance of designing the *voids*, the *empty space*, the public open space, retracing the meaning of public space in the contemporary urban context. The risk of this kind of investigation is to depict public space as the cure for complex contemporary urban problems. Therefore, this research aims to

² See chapter 5.1

³ In other words, space and form aspects are not enough to fully describe the socio-economic, cultural and political factors which certainly affect the design and use of space, in particular public space. Those features are interlinked and influence each other.

demonstrate that public space is not a panacea for spatial inequality⁴, but it is an important ingredient for a liveable city. At times, the physical dimension of space is even marginal compared to the complexities of urban issues. In other cases, the physical dimension of space – associated with economic and social interventions – played a crucial role in transforming urban space, for better or for worse. Accordingly, this thesis focuses on spatial aspects that contribute to exacerbate the social conditions in order to understand if they also have the potential to mitigate these conditions.

The case study of this research is Cape Town, South Africa, which is considered as one the most segregated city in the world. Indeed, colonial domination and more explicitly apartheid shaped the city according to the *separate development*. Apartheid regime minutely planned segregation⁵, on the political level as well as on the spatial one. Spatial segregation played undoubtedly a major role in the apartheid policies, and its consequences are still evident in contemporary Cape Town. The democratic election in 1994 determined the end of the political apartheid. Notwithstanding the apartheid legacy remains evident on the spatial level. This disconnection between theory and reality of material space is the field of interest of this research. In fact, Cape Town is an emblem of the urban poor and the rich coexisting but using different and parallel spaces, Africa and Europe condensed in one place. The two worlds tend not to mingle, and this narrative of separation tends to coincide with reality. The objective of this research is to observe and evaluate contemporary urban space of Cape Town to understand at what point is the process of pursuit of inclusion and what is the role of space in this process. This research aims to demonstrate that the desegregation process of Cape Town has been trying to use public space as social infrastructure to bridge divides. It is a process started in the late 1990s, which have been developed slowly through a series of policies and related practices.

The space between buildings – as potential public open space – has been strictly affected and controlled by separate development. On one hand, the *narrative of separation* can be considered as the dystopia of urban design and public space rhetoric, in which inclusion is commonly implicit. On the other hand, public space – whose theoretical definition⁶ is free space, open to everyone, space for encounter and sharing, inclusive and *democratic space* (Madanipour 2010; Paasche 2012; Roy and Ong 2011 among others) – is the urban space in which a mental shift can occur. Accordingly, the definition, the modification and the role of public space become central issues within this discourse, as well as the evaluation about its design.

⁴ As portrayed by some international organizations and scholars.

⁵ The apartheid city was “carefully and minutely planned, and executed with frightening and resolute efficiency” (Bruyns and Graafland 2012, 199).

⁶ The definition of public open space and the discussion on the potential of these spaces will be questioned throughout this thesis.

As long as the narrative of separation remains dominant in Cape Town, wealthy residents and foreign visitors continue to love the city thinking that *their urban spaces* are the beating heart of the city, while its poor citizens are bound to hate it, suppressing their anger and envying the rich. A change of direction in the cultural dualism which is currently dominant in South Africa would lead to a better understanding of spaces the city offers in its entirety (Robinson 2006a; Roy and Ong 2011 among others) and would suggest the rediscovery or a new interpretation of its public spaces. In order to destroy the apartheid structure of the city, the separate areas would have to be “sewn”⁷ together. That is why urban designers, urbanists and architects have to be involved within this academic discourse. However, it is necessary that these professional figures are able to question themselves with respect to a discipline that still tends to concentrate only on the physical and aesthetic aspects, neglecting the social matters. This thesis explores the potential of public open space as an instrument of urban restructuring in a broader sense, as a way to foster spatial justice and to combat urban inequalities. A new urban narrative can start with the will to deeply understand reality and an open mind to interpret it. If the boundaries of public space were clearly defined and citizens could fill it up with new narratives and opportunities, then – maybe – unsocial space could become social and the unequal contemporary city might have some more equity. However, the research focus is not on values, but on space, on its perceptions, interpretations and uses. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to describe and examine if and how the narrative of separation has been or can be challenged through the use of space, in particular of public open space.

⁷ This phrase was used by the Architect Nicola Irving and by the landscape architect Tarna Klitzner during interviews and conversations with the author. *Sewing, netting, stitching* has been used by the architects to explain their approach to *join* space together, especially referred to connecting spaces previously divided by the apartheid rules thought buffer zones.

1.2 Research questions

In order to investigate the potential of public open space, the thesis reflects on the narrative of separation as the dystopia of urban design and public space. Implicitly, the thesis also examines the importance of the urban design project and the current role of architects in the process of designing and creating public space. The author of the research is herself an architect on the Doctoral Program in *Architecture, History and Project* therefore these disciplines are the lenses through which the urban spaces are observed.

Given that “today the world is more unequal than it was twenty years ago” (UN-Habitat 2016, 69), are there some spatial dimensions linked to this phenomenon? And what is possible to learn specifically from Cape Town, and South Africa as a whole, where urban separation and fragmentation are particularly evident? Indeed, this city is considered by many authors as one of the most segregated and unequal city of the world because of the segregated pattern inherited from apartheid urban planning. The goal of the research is to identify some elements of inclusion of people in space and through space – as opposed to separation of people.

What mainstream and alternative frames of reference exist when discussing urban issues in South Africa? It is fundamental to clarify the frames of reference of this study in order to challenge the paradox of African cities⁸, to evaluate the narrative of separation and, in particular, to evaluate the role of public open space to combat the narrative of separation.

What has been the role of public space in the contemporary urban transformation occurring in post-apartheid Cape Town? What is the definition, the use and the interpretation of public space in a contemporary city such as Cape Town? This thesis attempts to analyse this process with an open mind, going beyond dominant and telescopic narratives⁹. Firstly, what is the relationship between apartheid and space? Secondly, if apartheid was able to separate, are there spaces designed for inclusion during post-apartheid? Did these attempts fail or succeed in achieving the goal? At the political level, this shift has officially happened, but opportunities, spatial and socio-economic conditions reflect another facet. Thirdly, which lessons can be learnt by analysing the Harare VPUU project¹⁰ – the most vaunted public space project of the last twenty years in Cape Town? Recognizing that socio-economic, political and cultural aspects contribute in shaping the urban spaces, can specific spatial interventions act as urban

⁸ See chapter 2.1.1 about the difference between African cities and the cities of Africa.

⁹ See chapter 2.1.2 about telescopic narrative (Amin 2013) and about ordinary narrative (Robinson 2006a).

¹⁰ See chapter 4.3 about the Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading (VPUU) programme and more specifically about the Harare project.

acupuncture (Lerner 2014)? The thesis, through theoretical and field work research, examines which is the contribution of a specific physical transformation.

Cape Town represents an extreme case study to learn from, in which the narrative of separation often coincides with reality of material space, and the spatial aspects of separation are more evident. Through the process of understanding and evaluation of a specific case study, which elements can be generalized? Some extreme physical features are manifest in South Africa, but at the same time they reflect similarities or common roots with other ordinary contexts. In fact, the case study of Cape Town is meaningful for specific spatial issues, but it is also relevant as a contemporary urban space. For this reason, this research implicitly deals with current problems in the discipline of urban planning¹¹, attempting to give a new interpretation of public open spaces. Hopefully, the research is of interest and relevance to other contemporary urban contexts. Moreover, the discourse is placed within the current interest in Africa's rapid urban growth¹² and within the globalization of the urban phenomenon, which are briefly discussed¹³.

¹¹ The complexities of contemporary cities imply that a fixed and linear solution does not work because the problems are not linear or univocal. Urban discipline is struggling in the first place in the definition of complex problems, and secondly in the effort to propose feasible solutions to improve urban life.

¹² Africa's urban growth has drawn a great attention recently as a place of reproduction of poverty and disease as well as well as a place of opportunity to change the urban transition. The dichotomy described is known also as Afro-pessimism and Afro-optimism.

¹³ See chapter 3.

1.3 Why Cape Town?

In academic literature, Cape Town is portrayed as one of the most extreme example of urban spatial inequality. Indeed, the legacy of apartheid can be considered as “the most engineered and deeply institutionalized system of inequality in the world. [...] If social polarization in most cities of the Global South is the product of the market forces, the apartheid city was carefully and minutely planned, and executed with frightening and resolute efficiency. South African cities are the most segregated in the world with *race*¹⁴, class, space, opportunity and now HIV-AIDS all absolutely and relentlessly correlated” (Bruyns and Graafland 2012, 199). In particular, Cape Town is representative of the challenges of all South African cities thanks to its unique topography and its unusual racial composition¹⁵. Moreover, it is a significant place to look at specific spatial problems – such as segregation and fragmentation – regarding also many other contemporary cities all over the world. As an example, aerial photographs of spatial inequality and contrast (like the one in Figure 1) can be extracted from almost every city around the world. Therefore, the case of Cape Town is useful for observing some specific phenomena, moreover it can be related to a wider and more general problem of the discipline of architecture.

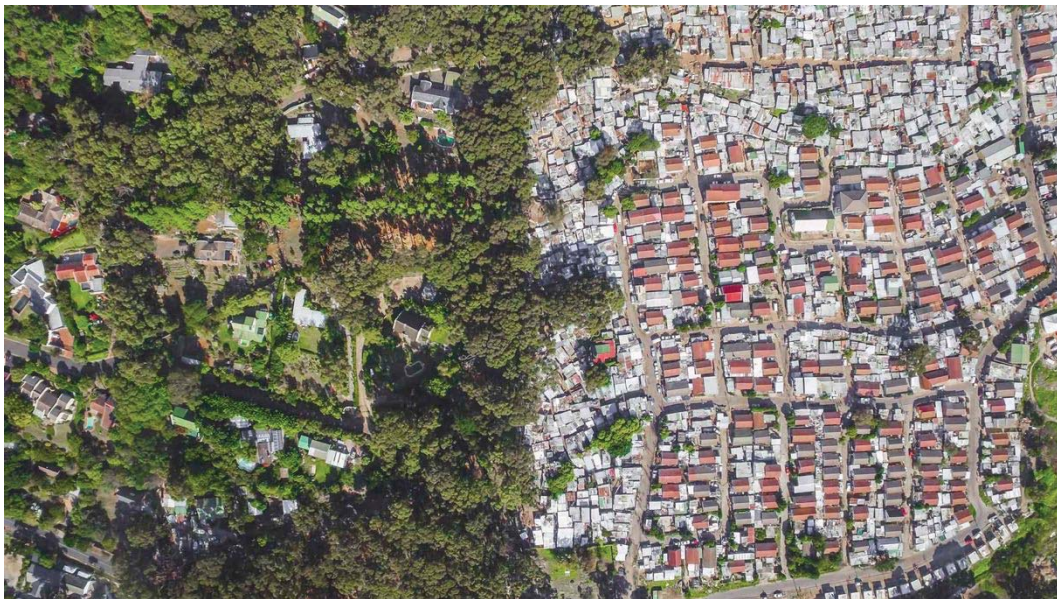


Fig. 1: Unequal scenes, by J. Miller 2016¹⁶

¹⁴ The term *race* is commonly used in South African literature referring to the variety of origins of local ethnic groups. Therefore, is also used with the same meaning within this research.

¹⁵ Cape Town race division: 42.4% Coloured, 38.6% Black African, 15.7% White, 1.4% Indian/Asian and 1.9% other. South African race division: 79.2% Black African, 8.9% White, 9.8% Coloured, 2.5% Indian/Asian and 0.5% other.

¹⁶ This photo is part of a project by the photographer Johnny Miller called *Unequal scenes* which collect images from a new perspective showing how differently the rich and the poor live. This photo reflects the contrast between Hout Bay and Imizamo Yethu. Retrieved November 4, 2017. <http://unequalscenes.com/hout-bay-imizamo-yethu>

This thesis investigates the narrative of separation of Cape Town's spatial structure in order to propose alternative perspective of analysis and intervention. The spatial peculiarities of Cape Town are described in this research to frame the more general context, with a focus on the contrast of inequality through space. In fact, the haves and the have-nots share Cape Town without necessarily meeting each other. The two words tend not mix and mingle: exclusion of the *other* is both in narratives and ordinary day life. And space plays a crucial role in this process. The rich never go to a township and have no reason to go there. They have built a collective imagination of that *other* space portrayed by news, radio and TV shows that tend only to highlight the negative aspects: violence, gangs, drugs, unemployment and so on. The urban poor have no choice but to live in the townships, working – if they are lucky – in luxurious oceanfront villas. They are employed for the purpose of protecting the wealthy from prejudices towards the poor; and they come back late at night to the peripheries and look at luxury from far away. For the rich, this way of life creates the best mix: there is perfect fusion of music, energy, culture and style. In contrast, for the urban poor, life is a persistent challenge in the hope to reach the *luckier shore* or a long waiting process in order to claim the rights which were denied during apartheid.

Dealing with spatial planning, most South African attention has been focused on housing, and housing is still the main issue in political and academic discourses. This thesis proposes that housing issue must be linked with public space issue in order to solve not only the problem of house as a shelter, but to discuss more broadly about urban spaces and opportunities. The research demonstrates that attempts to use public space to bridge divides have been proposed since the 1990s in Cape Town. Thanks to the analysis of the case study, the thesis investigates whether reframing the role of the public space can help in the process of stitching the segregated areas together; and it investigates also what can be improved in terms of spatial design to enhance these spaces as inclusive instead of exclusive.

1.4 Method

The spatial inequality of Cape Town – like many other contemporary cities – is a complex and interdisciplinary issue. In fact, many disciplines are involved in the transformation process of urban spaces and they cannot be ignored. Notwithstanding this, since the role of public space in combating the narrative of separation is crucial in this thesis, the spatial aspect is the core around which the methodology used has been conceived.

The current research has involved a mixed methodology in order to be more effective and to reflect the complexity of the researched issue. On one hand, the investigation included an extensive literature review¹⁷ and archival research; on the other hand, the use of a case study method helped the author to test, verify and compare the theoretical analysis. Indeed, Cape Town (and Harare, in Khayelitsha township) was established as the case study area in which to analyse the evolution of public space. As described in more depth throughout the thesis, Cape Town can be considered quite an extreme case due to its history and its spatial development of separation. Therefore, some phenomena like spatial inequality are more evident there than in other contemporary cities. The extrapolation of relevant spatial information in this extreme context is useful to be tested and analysed in an ordinary context. The two approaches described above are interlinked and inform each other.

The time spent in Cape Town by the researcher – five months¹⁸ – was fundamental to explore and experience the city spaces, understand urban dynamics and challenges and also collect local publications about the city's transformation (City of Cape Town, University and City's Library¹⁹, Archives). The field work time was also used by the author to interview key stakeholders who took part in the discussion about post-apartheid design ideas and in particular who have been involved in the modification of public space. Specifics about the methodology used to evaluate the case study project (the VPUU Harare project) and about the semi-structured questionnaire utilized can be found in chapter 5.3.2 and in Appendix 1. It is recognized that no local co-tutor was identified. However,

¹⁷ The literature review included local and international sources. The time spent on site has been essential to collect local source since rich researches have treated spatial inequalities and not many of these materials are available in Italy, in Europe or as electronic document.

¹⁸ The period of field work in South Africa and more specifically in Cape Town has been of five months, divided in two periods: two months in 2016 (from 25th January 2016 to 25th March 2016) and 3 months in 2017 (from 30th January to 29th April 2017). During the research activity period, the author has been hosted by the University of Cape Town (UCT) as visiting student, having therefore access to UCT services and activities and having the opportunity also to meet some researchers of the African Centre for Cities (ACC) based in UCT.

¹⁹ University of Cape Town Libraries collects important private and public archival collections about Khayelitsha in the Jagger Library. All the plans, images, diagrams and photos reproduced in the document will need a specific agreement in case of publication. In the text, the author will refer to these figures as *Special Collections Library, UCT, all rights reserved*.

the substantial list²⁰ of key stakeholders interviewed (researchers, professors, architects and practitioners, local administrators and City of Cape Town workers, local NGOs, CBOs, NPCs, public space users...) renders the research reasonably robust. Some of the interviews were specifically about precise topics around the role of the person/organization interviewed, others were more informal conversations. Some people were interviewed more than once to verify the advancement of the research and the research questions and hypotheses, while the exchange of ideas with other stakeholders was possible through e-mails or Skype calls. Almost every planned interview was recorded²¹ using a smartphone application. These records were extremely useful to avoid misinterpretation²² and to ensure the necessary objectivity in the document collection phase. The interpretation of the data collected was done later relating the interview source to the other sources used. The interviews had the very important effect of allowing the author to compare different points of view, proving the correctness of the hypotheses or forcing the updating of the research questions where necessary. Nevertheless, interviews and informal conversations with people in Cape Town were just one of the tools of this research. Renowned research centres like the African Centre of Cities²³ (ACC) and many other local initiatives²⁴ provided a great diversity and richness of references, with many different points of view. This heterogeneity demonstrates that Cape Town is fighting to sensitize citizens to urban issues and to propose solutions.

The case study method consisted of three approaches:

- a critical evaluation of historic and current urban problems of Cape Town in order to frame the context (these include separate development, sprawl, functionalism, modernism, private car preference)
- a critical evaluation of post-1994 policies in Cape Town in order to understand the political background and to determine the attention given/paid to public space
- a critical discourse analysis of the Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading (VPUU) programme and its urban design principles through the

²⁰ The number of key stakeholders interviewed is about 100 including around 55 people or organizations involved directly in the Harare VPUU project (this second group of people has been mainly interviewed on site).

²¹ Just few people asked to not be recorded. Most of the interviews have also been transcribed by the author to help her to collect and compare the useful information. It has not been considered relevant to attach the transcribed material.

²² The author is not English mother tongue.

²³ <https://www.africancentreforcities.net/about/>.

²⁴ Among others: Future Cape Town (<http://futurecapetown.com/about-us/>), Reclaim the city (<http://reclaimthecity.org.za>), Openstreets (<https://openstreets.org.za/about-open-streets-cape-town>), Cape Town Partnership (<https://www.capetownpartnership.co.za>), DAG (<https://www.dag.org.za>), Social Justice Coalition (<https://www.sjc.org.za>), CORC (<http://sasdialliance.org.za/about/corc/>), Slum Dweller International (<http://sdinet.org>), etc.

evaluation of the VPUU flagship project: the Harare VPUU project in Khayelitsha township²⁵. Indeed, the current approach used by the City of Cape Town to deal with public space design has been strongly influenced by this programme.

The field research in 2016 focused mainly on the first two approaches, while the field research in 2017 focused mainly on the third one. Despite that, the process of writing the thesis used a combination of approaches and adapted them according to research results and related external feedback. The relatively short amount of time spent in Cape Town was mainly organized around the collection of specific data and sources only available in South Africa and around the VPUU case study analysis on site. In fact, the organization and the critical interpretation of the data collected did not require the presence of the author in South Africa.

The theoretical framework through which to observe the space and its transformation was defined by the author before the research period in Cape Town. It was possible thanks to an extensive literature review about the African and South African context, about the definition and role of key words (like public space, urban poverty, equity, inclusion, spatial justice, informal upgrading etc.). The author aims to corroborate the concepts put forward in this thesis by making reference to the literature through direct quotation. The theoretical framework remained as a reference for the field research, but was adapted and updated because of it.

The heterogeneous material collected (specific literature, about 100 interviews, drawings and photos) was organized into working diagrams that were progressively developed and organized as thesis chapters. The following chapter will describe the organization of the thesis and briefly define the contents of each chapters.

²⁵ The focus of the fieldwork has been to analyse and observe a project that has been planned and structured mainly to reduce criminality in a township area, but at the same it has enhanced the neighbourhood providing a public space. It is not a single public building, but it a collection of public and private spaces (schools, library, square, park, sport centre, live-work units, trading spaces, all linked with the existing train station). Being a linear structure, it provides connectivity within the neighbourhood; and being quite recent people may compare the space before and after the intervention. The case study chosen is known as Harare project by VPUU: the safe path from Khayelitsha station to Luleka primary school, a collection of linked buildings and public open spaces.

See chapter 4.3 about the Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading (VPUU) programme and more specifically about the Harare project.

1.5 Thesis structure

The following is a concise description of the organization of this thesis. Public space is central in every chapter, and different aspects of it are investigated in every chapter, even when it is not explicit. The research starts from theoretical and geographical frames of reference to the analysis of an existing public space case study, then generalizes the lessons learnt from the case study. The content of the chapters is resumed briefly.

Chapter 1 states the relevance and the topicality of the research, spelling out the problem investigated and the aims of the research. The growing urban spatial inequality is introduced through its relation with public open space. Furthermore, the chapter identifies the research questions which have guided this thesis, the choice of Cape Town as case study and the mixed methodology through which the topic is examined.

Chapter 2 and chapter 3 contain an in-depth literature review. In particular, they trace the geographical and theoretical frameworks: the lens through which public space is examined. The theoretical references referred to in these chapters have been then verified through the analysis of the case study.

Chapter 2 briefly describes the geographical context of South Africa, it clarifies the relations between apartheid and space, therefore describing the narrative of separation. The legacy of apartheid is then challenged in the comprehension of the term post-apartheid.

Chapter 3 links the geographical context with the theoretical references. The chapter is essentially divided in two parts. Firstly, the chapter clarifies the paradox of researching *African cities* and outlines alternative frames of references used by the author. Secondly, the chapter defines public space in South Africa, its role and its potential for the urban poor and suggests the use of the rights-based, upgrading and urban acupuncture approaches.

Chapter 4 shifts from the theoretical perspective to the case study analysis: Cape Town and its public spaces policies are examined. The chapter investigates the history and the peculiarities of the city. Moreover, it describes the problematic focus on housing while it shows that the emphasis on public space existed at the beginning of the settlement creation, but it disappeared in the second half of the twentieth century. At the same time, the research critically proves that the attempts at spatial inclusion have been pursued through post-1994 policies which gave public space a central role.

Chapter 5 analyses the outcomes of policies in Cape Town, informed by the current desegregation process. Attempts at inclusion are tested through a detailed study of one of the most disadvantaged areas of the city: Khayelitsha township. The author evaluates the flagship project of the City of Cape Town (CoCT), locally promoted as *best practice* project for local and national public space intervention. Specific methodologies of analysis, achievements and limitations of

the project are described. Moreover, the author extrapolates from the project evaluated some spatial principles which can be considered as critical lenses through which reframing the public space.

The final chapter (n. 6) draws together key findings and implications of the research. The aim of the chapter is to briefly revisit previous sections, connecting the key results together. It is called *conclusion* chapter even if much more research work²⁶ remains to be done to find solutions to spatial inequality issues in contemporary cities like Cape Town. The chapter attempts to resume and map the thesis research achievements, and to open to possible future research. Lastly, research challenges are noted. The thesis provides an extensive review on the current process of inclusion through the analysis of public space in Cape Town which open up to other future and interdisciplinary research. Therefore, though the research, the author attempts to reframe the role and the spatial configuration of public space as an inclusive tool instead of a tool of separation.

Chapter 7 contains the bibliography, which have been divided in three groups: references linked to the geographical and theoretical framework, references specific of Cape Town, and references linked to the VPUU case study analysis and to the possibilities of future research.

Chapter 8 collects the appendices relevant for the research. The first three appendices are working material created and used by the author, while the Appendix 4 is a collection of drawings of the Harare VPUU project.

²⁶ And in many different disciplines also.

Chapter 2

Defining the framework: geographical context

2.1 South Africa

The main focus of this research is not the history of South Africa or of apartheid. Nevertheless, a few key concepts about South Africa are pointed out in this chapter as background information in order to define the geographical context of the thesis. Despite the brevity of the description, without this knowledge the comprehension of this research may lead to misinterpretation. In fact, the narrative of separation and the role of space in contemporary Cape Town – treated in this thesis – need to be contextualised. Peculiarities and extremes of the case study are relevant and have a certain meaning only if they are linked to the geographical and historic context to which they are interrelated.



Fig. 2: South Africa key plan, M. Bodino, 2018

The Republic of South Africa is the southernmost country in the African continent (Figure 2). Thanks to its strategic position, South Africa attracted European colonizers: firstly, the Dutch, then the British who took slaves. The multi-ethnic society which now composes contemporary South Africa was determined by its history. Indeed, the current population consists of a variety of ethnic groups, culture, languages²⁷ and religions. The distinction between racial groups – Black Africans, Coloured, Indian and White – has been misused by apartheid in order to separate those groups. On the contrary, in the most recent history the inclusion of racial groups became the symbol of the desired rainbow nation (Figure 3). The ideology of apartheid ruled South Africa from 1948 to 1994²⁸. The first multiracial democratic election in 1994²⁹ determined the end of apartheid with the choice of Nelson Mandela as president, the leader of the African National Congress (ANC)³⁰.

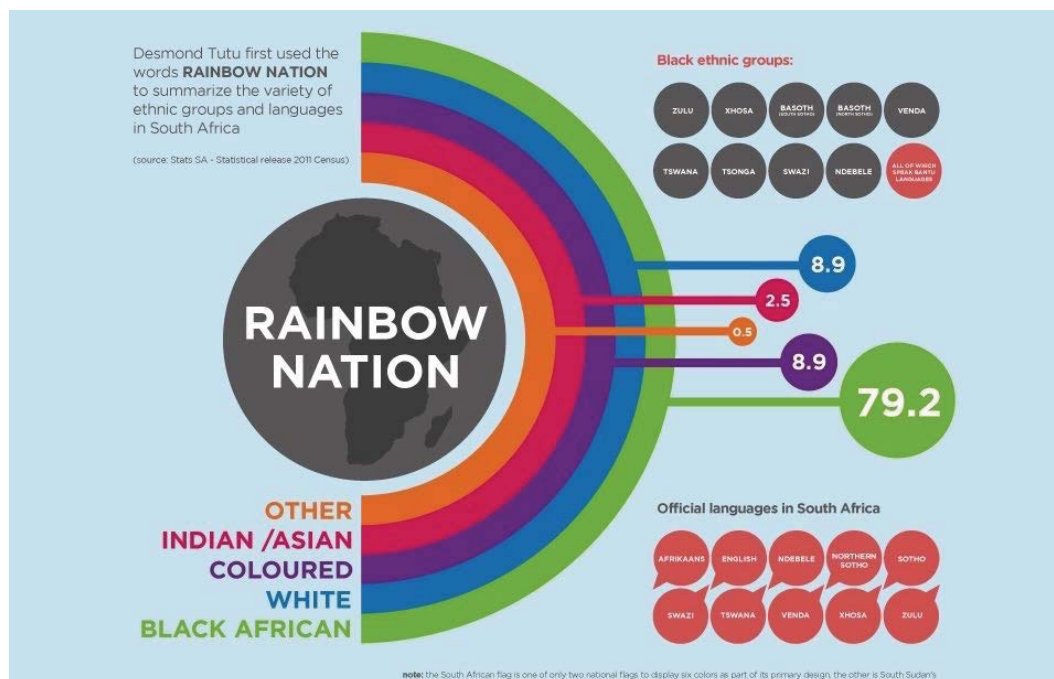


Fig. 3: Rainbow multiracial South Africa³¹

²⁷ Eleven official languages are recognized in the Constitution of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996, chapter 1, paragraph 6.

²⁸ This period also corresponds to a time of a great growth and expansion of South African cities. In 1990, Nelson Mandela was released from Versel prison in Paarl (after 27 years of confinement, including 18 years in the prison of Robben Island in Cape Town). Apartheid legislation was abolished in 1991, pending the first democratic election in 1994.

²⁹ The election day has been the 27th April 1994. For the first time, citizens of all races were allowed to take part in the voting process (both men and women). That day represents the culmination of the four-year process that ended apartheid. Today the 27th April is the Freedom Day, South African national public holiday.

³⁰ Since 1994, the ANC remains the ruling and dominant political party at the national level.

³¹ December 29, 2017. Retrieved from: <https://www.pinterest.com/pin/308637380689732475/>

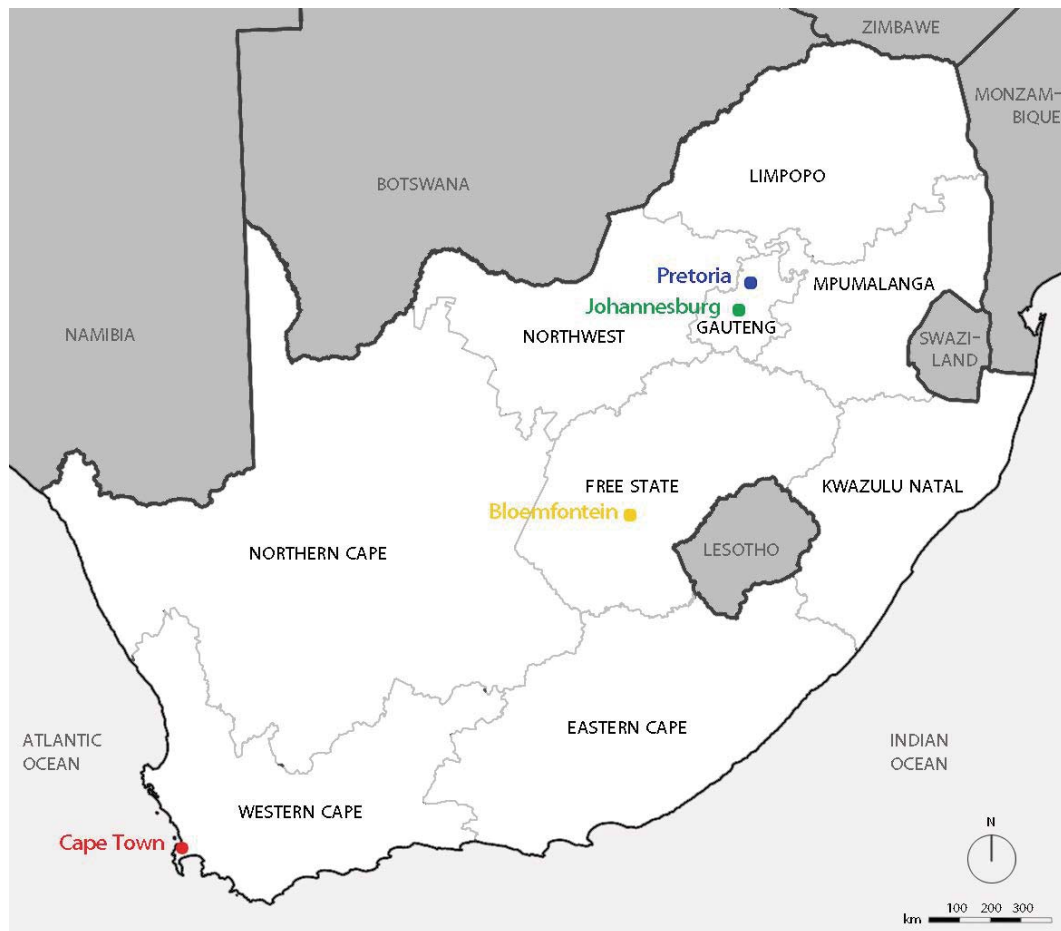


Fig. 4: Map of South Africa³², M. Bodino, 2017

The City of Cape Town (called CoCT³³, see Figure 4 for its location) is one of the emblem of South Africa's rebirth, being the legislative capital of the country, hosting the 2010 Football World Cup and being chosen as the 2014 World Design Capital. Although now committed to becoming a global city, Cape Town's levels of inequality are still amongst the highest in the world (UN-Habitat 2010, 193) and local authorities struggle to face its urban challenges.

³² The map shows major South African cities: Cape Town is the legislative capital of South Africa, Pretoria is the executive capital, while Bloemfontein is the juridical one. Johannesburg is the largest city and is considered the economic driving force of the country.

³³ The CoCT refers to the metropolitan municipality that includes Cape Town and surrounding areas.

2.1.1 Apartheid & space

The legacy of apartheid has many traits since apartheid has affected spatial, economic, social and political aspects of society (figure 5). All of these are equally important. Nevertheless, this thesis concentrates its attention on the spatial aspects, which are interrelated with the profound changes of cities during apartheid period. “The two central pillars of the apartheid government’s urban segregation programme were the Group Areas Act of 1950 and the regulation of African movement into cities and towns through *influx control* policies³⁴. Both these measures were premised on the Population Registration Act of 1950, which provided for the compulsory classification of everyone into distinct racial groups: White, African and Coloured (which initially included Indians). The Group Areas Act aimed to achieve the total segregation of people on the basis of racial groups identified in the Population Registration Act. Practically, urban areas would be zoned into residential and business areas but with an unambiguous racial label. Anyone who resided in the area from a different racial group would be forcibly removed to a *group area* where they *belonged*” (Pieterse 2006a, 100). Therefore, it is undeniable that South African cities have been strongly influenced by apartheid. In fact, “apartheid, a universal signifier of political and racial domination, has a specific literal meaning as well, *apartness*”³⁵. Robinson argues that “the power of apartheid was crucially dependent upon this spatiality”. The separate development rules were used to implement “state power [through] the organization of urban space into racially segregated living areas” (Robinson 1996, 1). The process of dispossession and forced removals of ethnic groups out of white areas³⁶ was necessary to make the separate development³⁷ work. And the regulation of public spaces was central to the apartheid system: they were designed and maintained in order to ensure colonial power and control.

³⁴ Another important form of control has been the informal settlements removals.

³⁵ According to Battersby-Lennard, apartheid literally means *state of being apart* in Afrikaans and has been “defined in the 1985 United Nations International Convention Against Apartheid in Sport as, “a system of institutionalized racial segregation and discrimination for the purpose of establishing and maintaining domination by one racial group of persons over another racial group of persons and systematically oppressing them” (Battersby-Lennard 2009, 167).

³⁶ “Apartheid is a process of dispossession and exclusion of the majority of South Africans”. (Surplus Peoples Project 1984, 7).

³⁷ “Apartheid was [...] a development policy very similar to dualistic policies of development elsewhere in the world [...]; that is why it could be substituted with the term *separate development*. Of course, the majority of black people experienced it as rejection and suppression rather than development” (Venter 1999, 432). In this paper, the author analyses the South African leader H. F. Verwoerd, who has been defined as the “architect of apartheid” in 1980 by Kenney. Central to his discourse are “the dualistic theories of development, which accorded well with the separation of races” (Venter 1999, 415).



Fig. 5: Apartheid: the tyranny of racism made law, UN-Habitat 1982³⁸

According to Lemon (1991), South African cities structure and development can be divided in three categories: the *segregated city* (1923 – 1950), the *apartheid city* (1950 – 1990) and the *post-apartheid city* (from 1990s)³⁹.

The *segregated city* is a consequence of colonial domination. In fact, “in the absence of an indigenous urban tradition, South African cities were established by white settlers, who regarded the cities as their cultural domain” (Lemon 1991, 1). This first period is distinguished by “certain key features [...] common to the social formation of all colonial cities: [...] relations of dominance, [...] control of access to political power, [...] to means of production and employment, [...] control over land resources, [...] over access to services and amenities, [...] and control over spatial relations through segregation and urban containment” (Lemon 1991, 2). The organization of the segregation city was represented by Davies in 1981 (Figure 6). His model represents the segregation city, and it refers to South African cities before apartheid spatial planning. “Importantly the model incorporates two extensive zones of mixing [...]. Pre-apartheid cities were, as the model suggests, highly but not completely segregated” (Lemon 1991, 8), like many other colonial cities.

³⁸ The photo symbolizes the effect of the spatial segregation, put in practice by the Group Areas Act. The photo represents the racial dividing point at a beach near Cape Town (January 1, 1982). August 9, 2017. Retrieved from:

<http://www.unmultimedia.org/photo/gallery.jsp?query=subject:Apartheid&startat=126&sf=>

³⁹ The focus of this research is about the latter city, however South African cities need to be understood within their history.

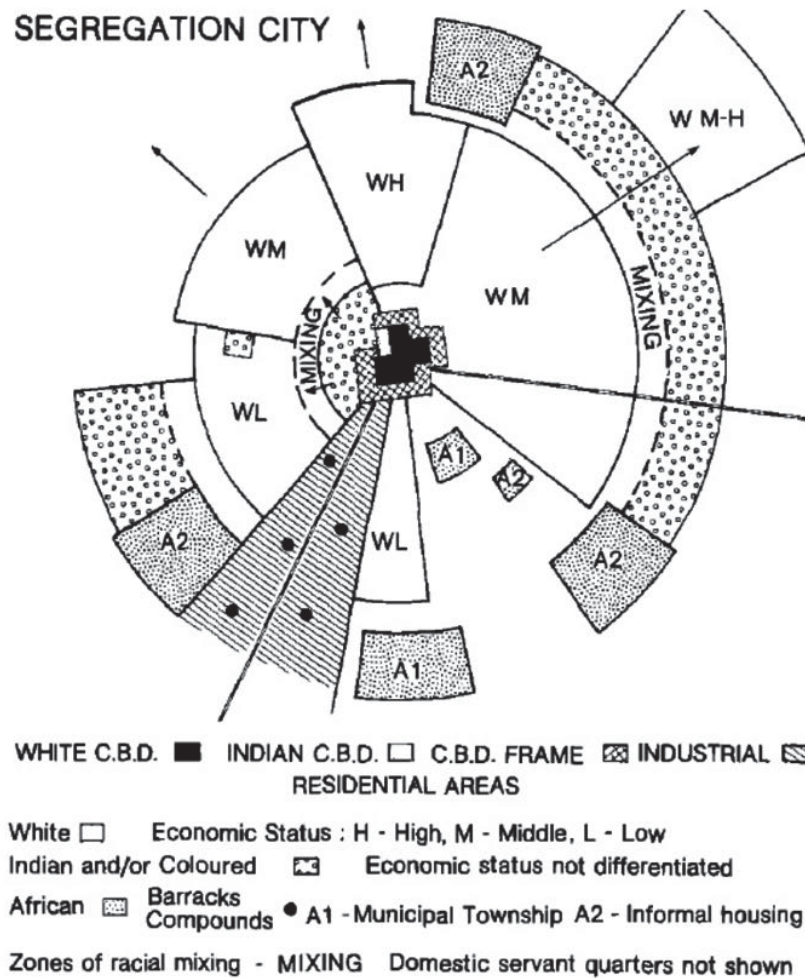


Fig. 6: The segregation city, by Prof. R.J. Davies, 1981⁴⁰

Instead, the *apartheid city* model reflects a re-organization of urban spaces in order to achieve segregation (Figure 7). The apartheid city diagram by Davies explains clearly the separate development idea, in which the city develops with a radial sector scheme starting from the Central Business District (CBD). The core of the city is White while in the periphery Coloured, Indian and Black township are defined. Each area is divided from the other by the means of buffer zones, railway lines, industrial areas or physical barriers.

⁴⁰ Diagram of the spatial organization of the Segregation City by Professor R.J. Davies (The spatial formation of the South African city, in GeoJournal Supplementary 2, 1981). Retrieved June 6, 2016. <http://laboratoireurbanismeinsurrectionnel.blogspot.it/2013/09/apartheid-townships-homelands.html>

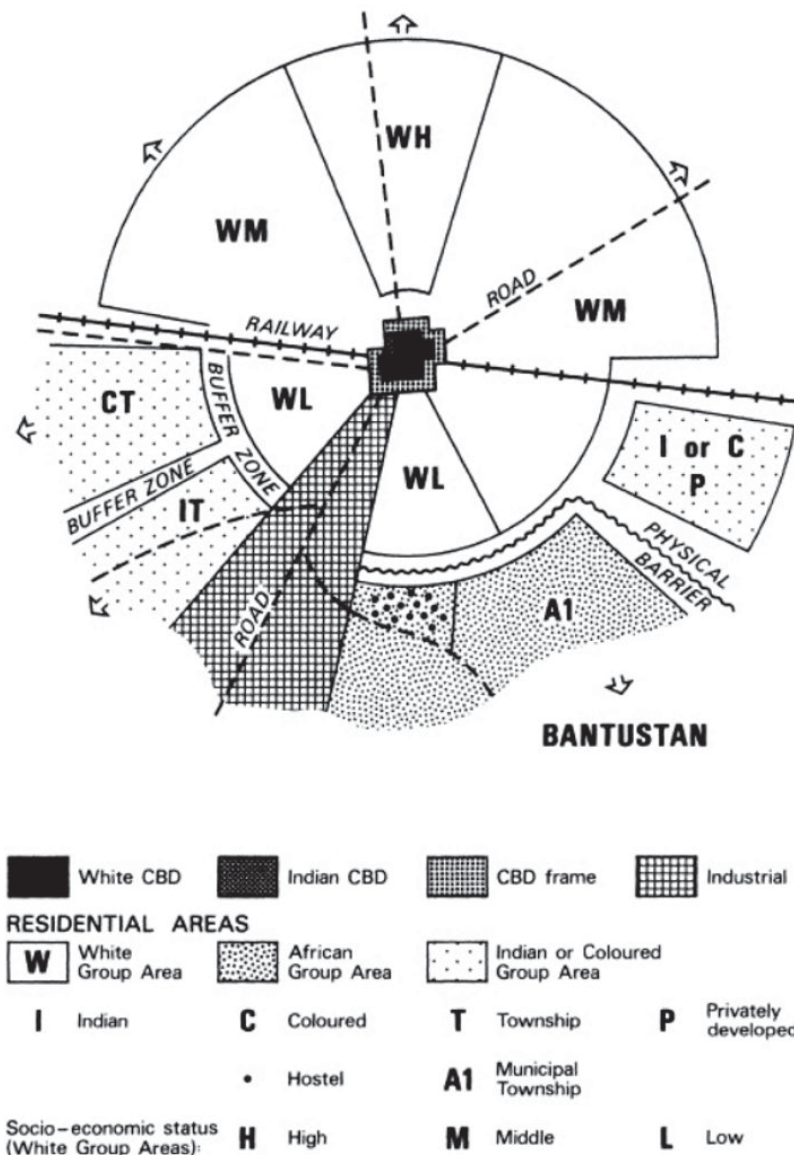


Fig. 7: The apartheid city, by Prof. R.J. Davies, 1981⁴¹

This apartheid city diagram recalls Hoyt's sector diagram in which residential space organization is analysed (Chapin 1965, 7-21)⁴². While Hoyt's sector diagram underlines how transportation can be seen to be a major influence in the growth of cities, transportation in the apartheid diagram is used as a tool to racially divide different neighbourhoods. The theory used by the apartheid regime

⁴¹ Diagram of the spatial organization of the Segregation City by Professor R.J. Davies (The spatial formation of the South African city, in *Geojournal Supplementary 2*, 1981). Retrieved June 6, 2016. <http://laboratoireurbanismeinsurrectionnel.blogspot.it/2013/09/apartheid-townships-homelands.html>

⁴² The land use theories have been developed in the United States to respond to "dramatic changes in the urban way of life (...) from the rise of industrialism" and all its related spatial consequences. In the South African, the context is really different since – as in many other Sub-Saharan African countries – the *urban turn* is considered to be distinctive because urbanization and industrialization have been uncoupled (Parnell and Pieterse 2014, 42).

refers to international urban theories of the 1960s and 1970s, but in this case functionalism is applied in order to pursue racial division, a phenomenon unique to South Africa. In fact, the South African plan of the apartheid city reflects what was happening in Britain (but also in Europe and North America) in the immediate post second-war period, when “plans and planning decisions were made largely on the basis of intuition or, rather, on the basis of simplistic aesthetic conceptions of urban form and layout which embodied physical determinism⁴³ assumptions” (Taylor 1998, 14). However, international criticisms to urban planning of the 1960’s (Jacobs 1961⁴⁴, Alexander 1965⁴⁵ among others) remained deliberately ignored by the apartheid government since that modern town planning model reflected political targets. At the same time, internationally there was a focus on objects, housing, private spaces and vehicular roads⁴⁶. In other words, internationally the attention shifted from the space between buildings to the building itself.

Cities of South Africa could be considered like many other African and colonial cities until the 1950s. This attitude changed profoundly with the introduction of apartheid and its Group Areas Acts through which separation and exclusion became central as urban planning instruments. In fact, “the Group Areas Act provided for areas within the urban environment to be declared for the exclusive use of one particular racial group. People were only allowed to own or rent residential property or businesses in areas classified for their racial group” (Battersby-Lennard 2009, 169)⁴⁷. Private as well as public properties were strongly affected by group area removals, through which existing districts and neighbourhoods were destroyed. On one hand, the controlled housing zoning was used as instruments of separation. On the other hand, apartheid modelled urban space in order to minimize contact between races. The buffer strips – “consisting of freeways, polluted rivers and vleis, and strategically placed military land and golf courses”⁴⁸ – were applied in the big and small scale. They were open spaces

⁴³ The term *physical, architectural or environmental determinism* believes that “the physical form and layout of the buildings and spaces could *determine* the quality of social and economic life” (Taylor 1998, 7). Quite soon, determinism resulted to be naive, since it implies “an inadequate comprehension of the complex relationships between physical environments and social life” (Taylor 1998, 54).

⁴⁴ Jacobs criticised the utopian and simplistic views of town planners, who didn’t focus on real-life cities and ignored the importance of mixture of uses, complexity, diversity and concertation.

⁴⁵ Alexander underlined the problem of urban planning a city as a diagram of a tree, whose structure differs a lot to the natural structure of the city.

⁴⁶ About modern development of Cape Town see chapter 4.1.2. About housing focus see chapter 4.1.4.

⁴⁷ Apartheid “maintained and extended existing segregation. [...] Unlike previous acts, which proclaimed new areas for particular races, the Group Areas Act was also retrospective in its planning” (Battersby-Lennard 2009, 169).

⁴⁸ This text has been extracted from an exposition panel in the District Six Museum (photo by the author, 2016), which describes the spatial location of townships: “Poorly constructed working-

used to divide and control different portions of the city. In South Africa, those buffer areas – de facto potential public open spaces – have been one of the most powerful means of segregation and therefore of separation on the spatial level. They are still profoundly dividing urban sectors. Moreover, the social impact related to the creation of those buffer strips has been also huge⁴⁹. In fact, separate development implied a segregation in every daily activity: firstly, in residential areas; secondly, in education, health, social services and local authorities. Races other than white could stay in *white-only* areas just for working reason, carrying the specific pass permission. Lemon describes this process as “race zoning [that] greatly inhibits even the limited inter-group social contact which might naturally occur. [...] For the majority, then, race zoning has kept people from knowing or understanding one another” (Lemon 1991, 9). Since churches, sport clubs, schools and other public spaces were critical in dividing races during apartheid, these same public spaces might be crucial as places of encounter post-apartheid. Data collected by the author⁵⁰ during field work in South Africa confirmed that race zoning has affected not only the organization of urban spaces, but also the mind-set toward other ethnic groups. That is why apartheid has been relevant in exacerbating differences, driving or almost imposing a paradigm shift⁵¹. Differences between races existed before 1948, but apartheid used modernism not only as a means of development and growth, but also to further weaken the most disadvantaged classes. Modernism and segregation together played a crucial role in causing sterility in South African cities.

class townships were built, separated by buffer strips, consisting of freeways, polluted rivers and vleis, and strategically placed military land and golf courses”.

⁴⁹ An enormous amount of time is required to go from A to B when a buffer zone need to be crossed. The difficulty of connecting with other sectors cause lack of connections and isolation.

⁵⁰ From both interviews with main stakeholders and colloquial conversations.

⁵¹ “Paradigm changes are fundamental shifts in people’s view of the world; that is why he [Kuhn] describes paradigms shifts as revolutionary” (Taylor 1998, 158).

2.1.2 Significance of the term post-apartheid

“The term post-apartheid indicates not only the temporal period after the first democratic election held in 1994, but for many scholars it represents a process of transformation of South African cities, a process called *desegregation*.” (Bodino 2016, 337). Post-apartheid is a compound word referring explicitly to the era after the apartheid regime. The relationship between the two is still very strong, as confirmed by the International Encyclopedia of Human Geography, which states: “South Africa has undergone radical transformation in many spheres since the end of apartheid; however, given the continued impacts of many aspects of the system on the experiences of citizens today, it is not yet possible to conceive of the country without reflecting on apartheid. Apartheid and post-apartheid remain fundamentally linked” (Battersby-Lennard 2009, 172).

The antithesis between apartheid and post-apartheid emphasizes their dependency. The post-apartheid city exists to contrast the apartheid city: the first depends on the second. The term post-apartheid city is used to promote the idea that cities are different now compared to how they were under apartheid rule. The expression was already used in the beginning of the 1990s (Lemon 1991), during the political crisis that brought democracy. It can be argued that it represents an aspirational vision, a need to specify another possibility besides apartheid. Later, the compound word remained in the academic writing. Even today, it is the most common way to refer to contemporary South African cities, which seems to be “caught in strange contradiction. On one hand, enormous effort is exacted to create a post-apartheid identity and form through a plethora of legislation, policies and plans. On the other hand, the more the state acts on the city with all of its *good* intentions, the more it seemingly stays trapped in its apartheid form, if not identity” (Pieterse 2006b, 286). Since 1994, the whole South African population – at least on paper – has been called on to mould its country for the first time since its independence. Simultaneously, the South African identity is anything but easy to define. The relationship between identity and architecture has been examined by Noble (2011) who described the attempt of creating a black identity through architecture. His study underlines again the difficulty of establishing a break with the past⁵².

An important element which needs to be briefly noted is the role of United Democratic Front (UDF), which have influenced the 1980’s and the early 1990’s⁵³. In fact, it is considered as “one of the most prominent political

⁵² *African identity in post-apartheid public architecture. White skin, black masks* is the title of Nobles’ book. In this publication, the author tried to “answer to the irresolvable question of black identity described by Fanon (Noble 2011, Fanon 2008)” (Bodino 2017, 70)

⁵³ UDF established itself officially between 1983 and 1989.

movements in South Africa with more than 600 affiliates organizations⁵⁴. [...] After its formation, the UDF declared it wanted to establish a true democracy in which all South Africans could participate and create a single, non-racial, unfragmented South Africa”⁵⁵. “The UDF and the 1980s represented something different from what had previously [...] been experienced in the history of liberation struggle. [In fact,] the period of the UDF represented a mass upsurge on a scale the country had never previously seen” (Suttner 2005, 61). It was not just a struggle against apartheid. Indeed, “the greatest impact was at the grassroots level where it created local structures that played a key role in the political education and mobilization of the masses. [...] The UDF’s strategy was to replace decision-making structures created by the government with a system of *people’s power*”⁵⁶. In a sense, UDF was more than a political organization⁵⁷, it has pursued decentralization and democratization of South Africa, proposing a highly democratic and self-govern system of urban governance.

After 1994, segregation has essentially persisted in terms of organization of space because, despite the political rhetoric shift, the planning rules did not change. In fact, the development and growth of cities in South African is driven by factors which are not interested or focus on more inclusive planning. First of all, the government housing policy reiterated the housing provision for poor through subsidised housing programmes (see chapter 4.1.4). The consequences have been mass housing schemes which require large parcels of cheap land for their viability. As much as during apartheid period, the poor are then pushed away from city centre because of land market⁵⁸. Most of the investments are private and interested in providing amenities for profit. Despite that, informal settlements keep growing in state land and in disadvantaged areas to avoid conflicts. Seems like there is no real political will to change these phenomena through an effective top-down planning approach.

In 2006, about a decade after democracy, the Urban Studies Journal published an important collection of articles about the ongoing urban transformation in South Africa. Together these papers provide important insights into the urban studies discourse on post-apartheid, showing a number of different perspectives.

⁵⁴ In fact, youth organizations, civic associations as well as student organizations were involved.

⁵⁵ Text extracted from the following link (page 1) – retrieved January 13, 2019: https://www.sahistory.org.za/sites/default/files/united_democratic_front_udf_general_information.pdf.

⁵⁶ Text extracted from the following link (page 2) – retrieved January 13, 2019: https://www.sahistory.org.za/sites/default/files/united_democratic_front_udf_general_information.pdf.

⁵⁷ And that is why needs to be differentiated from the ANC, even if principles and personalities have been shared between the two.

⁵⁸ The market influences the land price and the more affluent areas keep very high prices: segregation and land market influenced each other.

Robinson (2006b) introduces the issue reflecting on spontaneous transformation of urban conditions – called *inventions* – and directed ones – called *interventions*, while Boraine *et al.* (2006) examines the contrast between the vision of an inclusive non-racial city proposed by local policies and the state of South African cities. Pieterse (2006b) suggests recasting the critical political moment as an opportunity whereas Simone (2006) explores the notion of piracy in under-resourced cities. Furthermore, the phenomenon of the gated community (Lemanski 2006) and a new genre of public art (Minty 2006) are analysed. These articles represent a relevant collection of references and thematic approaches, fundamental in the definition of the state of art of this research. These academic publications investigate the gap between policy intent and outcome: a discourse still extremely current. Spatial inequality in post-apartheid South Africa is a macro-problem that everybody knows. By contrast, no-one knows the real solution since the issues are very complex and involve many different fields.

In other words, theories of *post-apartheid city* or *post-apartheid architecture* tend to describe an ongoing process of transformation that is trying to shape the new South Africa. And the intention of the new South Africa is to release itself from the spatial inheritance of apartheid. The ideology of the *Rainbow nation*⁵⁹ is relevant to this discourse. It refers to post-apartheid South Africa, striving for an inclusive, equal and multicultural society. The term can be misleading, but it demonstrates a step forward and the need to overcome the history of apartheid. In fact, the colour of the skin has been used by apartheid to divide people, while colours of the rainbow are proposed by the post-apartheid perspective to connect people⁶⁰.

⁵⁹ This term, its relationship with architecture and the post-apartheid identity are analysed in the article by De Raedt (2012). *Rainbow nation* has been introduced by the Archbishop and activist Desmond Tutu and used by Nelson Mandela in his inaugural speech in Pretoria, 10th May 1994: “We have triumphed in the effort to implant hope in the breasts of the millions of our people. We enter into a covenant that we shall build the society in which all South Africans, both black and white, will be able to walk tall, without any fear in their hearts, assured of their inalienable right to human dignity - a rainbow nation at peace with itself and the world”. Retrieved October 03, 2017. https://www.africa.upenn.edu/Articles_Gen/Inaugural_Speech_17984.html

⁶⁰ The ideological idea of the *rainbow nation* reflects the concept behind the UDF, who reinterpreted and attempted to implement the *Freedom charter* (1955), whose objective was to promote a non-racial South Africa. Retrieved June 29, 2017: http://www.historicalpapers.wits.ac.za/inventories/inv_pdf/AD1137/AD1137-Ea6-1-001-jpeg.pdf.

Chapter 3

Defining the framework: theoretical context

3.1 Lived cities

3.1.1 The paradox of African cities versus cities of Africa

The dichotomy between developed and developing countries is rapidly becoming obsolete in academic discourse. Partially, this step is due to the fact that “in recent years, urban scholars have paid more attention to non-Western cities” (Haila 2016, 10). In 1989, Castells *et al.*⁶¹ denied the clear-cut duality between a formal and informal economic sector in both advanced and peripheral countries questioning the dominant labels used at the time. The same critical alternative approach has been revealed more frequently at the turn of the millennium. In 2002, Robinson concerns about “the persistence of a split between accounts of cities in countries which have been labelled *third world* and those in the *West*” (2002, 532). This geographical division of urban studies is again underlined by Roy, who states “there is an urgency for urban studies and planning to move beyond the dichotomy of First World *models* and Third World *problems*” (2005, 147). Also, Balbo “reflects on the need to define a new paradigm for the city of the South [insisting that] it is a mistake to continue looking at the city of the South

⁶¹ “There is no clear-cut duality between a formal and an informal sector, but a series of complex interactions that establish distinct relationships between the economy and the state. Thus, we reject the notion of a *marginal society* linked to the informal economy as a distinct entity in both advances and peripheral countries. Nevertheless, if the informal economy does not generate a district society, it does produce specific social effects of far-reaching significance” (Castells et al. 1989, 31)

only as the outcome of the industrialized West's political and cultural dominance" (2012, 3).

Interpreting reality through opposite definitions means that one reality exists just because the other has been conceived. Moreover, it highlights the dependency of the two terms in which the contrasted definition has been created to reinforce the first definition. According to the author of this thesis, the overcoming of dichotomies happens when there is the awareness that the systems involved are complex, and that it is essential to take into account the intersections and the nuances of the systems themselves. Otherwise, the risk is to leave out important pieces of reality. This thesis underlines that the dichotomic approaches are outdated – as many other scholars already stated (Robinson 2002 and 2006a, Roy 2005, Yiftachel 2006, Roy and Ong 2011, Balbo 2012, Amin 2013 among others).

For UN-Habitat and the World Bank "planning tools based on *developed* Western cities [are] inappropriate to the characteristics of the *developing* city" (Balbo 2012, 4). As a result, these international organizations have based their analysis exclusively on the opposition of developed/developing countries. Accordingly, these institutions tend to emphasise differences between planning tools specific to Western countries and non-Western ones. Their approach is giving a specific vocabulary to international scholars which is not impartial at all. This study wants to suggest instead that there is another possibility: namely, to expand the scope of the conceptual framework that can be utilized by offering new criteria of analysis. The author recognises complexities of urban contemporary space and makes explicit the difficulty of giving univocal answers in the analysis of urban issues. Dichotomic approaches are simpler because reference categories are clear and limited (normally two). The definitions used classify common features and exclude others, which don't have those features. Discussing beyond dichotomous categories means choosing multiple and not univocal reference points. It means testing one's own points of reference. For the author, it was not a simple experiment, but it was necessary.

Recent decades have seen a growing interest in urban studies concerning Africa, and this is accompanied by a corresponding expansion of the African literature. Inevitably, so-called *urban African* literature is part of the framework described above and is conditioned by it. This research attempts to talk differently of *African cities*, first of all identifying them as *Cities of Africa* in order to recognize the unicity of each of them.



Fig. 8: Urban Africa Key words, M. Bodino, 2015⁶²

Cities of Africa⁶³ and their rapid urbanization are the focus of thousands of publications, books as well as articles, mostly written by non-African authors⁶⁴

⁶² This poster has been presented at the Urban Africa conference in Turin, October 2015 by the author. Some notes extracted from the poster: “Africa is no longer a continent of villages and towns, and it is only now that both the size and importance of urban Africa are becoming widely apparent. [...] Some recurring features occur when discussing urbanisation in Africa. This bibliographical research concentrates on the combination and the repetition of concepts in scientific books and articles dealing with urban Africa. [...] The diagram simplifies the real complexity of the continent, but nevertheless it provides a framework of the essential issues involved”.

(Albrecht 2014; Bekker and Fourchard, 2013; Bonaglia and Wegner 2014; Chenal 2015; French 2014; Freund 2007; Holm and Kallehauge 2015; Latouche 2000; Latouche 2009; Malaquais 2006; Myers 2011; Parnell and Pieterse 2014; Pieterse 2010, Pieterse and Simone 2013; Robert 2006; Simone 1998; Simone 2004a among others). In this literature, multiple and contradictory images of urban Africa are offered. These images crystallise around recurring common features which contrast with common Western ones. Many key words can be extracted from the current urban African bibliography, as shown in Figure 8. They can be useful to frame the context, even if they reduce the real complexity of the continent in simplistic ways. They represent the prevailing point of view: the current paradigm which refers to *Cities in Africa* as *African cities* macro-issues. Urban principles and urban spaces are completely missing. In fact, informality is the only issue that is normally associated to the cities of Africa. Knowing the existing people and scholars' view of *Cities in Africa* is the first step to criticise that narrative and go further. The definition of *African cities* represents both a trend in urban literature as well as a paradox since its definition is still vague. The contradiction lies in the use of the words itself. The paradox is between a generalist narrative and a specialist approach, both of them aiming to define features and dynamics of a growing international concern (Bodino and Pavani 2017). On one hand, the concept of African cities refers to the geographical position of these cities in the African continent and on shared traits of those cities⁶³. On the other hand, some scholars underline that peculiarities of each city remain undiscovered or omitted when using the simplistic definition of African cities. "The African city remains an elusive mirage clouded by limited data and inadequate theoretical approaches that prevent researchers and urbanists from coming to terms with the immensely complex, but also generative, dynamism of the spatial alchemy that can only be sensed there, or should I say, here. Clearly, for both what we know and do not know, the African city is indeed an edge, a site of danger, for there are impossibly many dimensions to grasp at once" (Pieterse and Simone 2013, 33). Therefore, in the search for a unique identity and definition, the concept of African cities become self-contradictory and rhetoric.

⁶³ In urban literature, they are commonly identified as *African cities*.

⁶⁴ The majority of them have Western education, regardless their origin.

⁶⁵ "Some trends appear to be clear: cities in the African continent are relevant at a global level in one way or another, and their role has increased in importance over the past few decades; it is also clear that they have grown, even though probably less than expected. In their variety, they definitely represent an array of alternative urban models that are yet to explore in their uniqueness, and it is to be hoped that this knowledge will come increasingly from within" (Bodino and Pavani 2017, 22)

3.1.2 Telescopic narratives and alternative frames of reference

A narrative is considered in this thesis as a system of logical and ideological references used to understand a specific topic. Urban narratives represent the frames of reference used to look at urban transformation. On one hand, narratives are useful terms to frame the context. On the other hand, “labelling cities, placing them in hierarchies or dividing them up according to levels of development” can have serious consequences (Robinson 2006a, 1). In other words, a narrative which defines an urban place is not just a descriptive instrument, but it can become so entrenched in people’s mind-set as to influence their own living⁶⁶. Hence, observations and results of every research are inevitably influenced by the geographical and theoretical frames of reference in which the study is placed. The paragraphs below describe both dominant and alternative imaginaries about contemporary cities and the stance of the author. The dominant approaches of the *global* and the *mega-city* can be defined as *telescopic* approaches to urban issues. In contrast, defining a city as *ordinary* represents an alternative frame of reference. It is fundamental to clarify the frame of reference of this study in order to challenge the paradox of African cities and to evaluate the narrative of separation and the role of public space.

Sakia Sassen introduced the concept of *global cities* taking into account mainly the economic factors, and referring mostly to cities in the first world. “Global cities are not only nodal points for the coordination of processes; they are also particular sites of production [...]. The *things* a global city makes are services and financial goods” (Sassen 1991, 5). In her book⁶⁷, she analyses economic restructuring as class and spatial polarization, underlining phenomena of economic inequality, a polarized income distribution and a process of high-income gentrification (Sassen 1991, 279). What is missing is the recognition of social aspects in addition to economic ones, especially when talking about inequalities⁶⁸. Her studies have had a great impact internationally, demonstrating and proving how the term global cities captures the existing “global organization and increasingly transnational structure of key elements of the global economy. Her key point is that the spatially dispersed global economy requires locally-based and integrated organization, and this, she suggests, take places in global cities” (Robinson 2002, 535). The narrative proposed by Sassen underlines specific aspects of contemporary cities. However, other scholars have criticised her univocal point of view. Firstly, the preferred first world perspective is considered

⁶⁶ For example, the book *Orientalism* (Said, 1979) describes the process of creating the image of “the Orient” as an exotic other compared to the European culture. This is a case in which the image constructed of the *other* tends to become a reality for both.

⁶⁷ Particularly in chapter 9.

⁶⁸ She admits the partiality of her analysis writing: “Employment and earning statistics [...] provide only a partial description of socioeconomic conditions” (Sassen 1991, 245).

the right one by the author. Implicitly, any other perspective is treated as wrong⁶⁹. Secondly, reality is described through formal economic indicators⁷⁰, leaving out social, cultural and spatial ones.

According to prevailing imaginaries, the concept of *global cities* exists as a counterpart to *mega-cities*, which are rapidly shaping a “planet of slums” (Davis 2006). Global cities are world-class cities, commonly rich and placed in the first world. Mega-cities comprise all the others: a growing network of cities distinguished by poverty, disease, violence, toxicity, waste, informality, and commonly located in the *global south*. Brought to its extreme, this dichotomous narrative continues to promote development for the global south⁷¹ with the aim of copying the *right* model implemented in the developed world⁷². Slums are shown as the spatial configuration of mega-cities and as a huge challenge to be faced (UN-Habitat 2003)⁷³. This vision culminates in the apocalyptic planet of slums described by Davis. Critics to Davis underlined his anti-urban and pessimistic approach. However, what is relevant of his work is that he has deliberately shocked his audience by bringing what is normally considered marginal as the core of urban future. He overturned the perspective.

This research recognizes as truthful the description of some physical aspects characterizing informal settlements described by Davis (such as lack of basic services, substandard housing, overcrowding, unhealthy living conditions, insecurity of tenure). At the same time, UN-Habitat suggests a re-thinking of prosperity and underlines the need to move “away from the dominant perspective, which is outdated and unsustainable [...]”, which creates “highly segmented urban forms, socially and economically segregated spaces, endless urban

⁶⁹ At the same time “Sassen’s inclusion of one Asian city – Tokyo – broke the dichotomy between Western and Asian cities, and began undermining urban studies’ Western-centre focus” (Haila 2016, 11).

⁷⁰ Informal economy is treated as an illegal and outside problem: “the literature on the informal sector has mostly focused on Third World countries and has, wittingly or not, assumed that as a social type such sectors are not to be expected in advanced industrialized countries. [...] Since much of the expansion of the informal economy in developed countries has been located in immigrant communities, this has led to an explanation of its expansion as being due to the large influx of Third World immigrants and their assumed propensities to replicate survival strategies typical of their home countries”. Therefore, informal economy is labelled “a third world import” (Sassen 1991, 285).

⁷¹ This perspective is known as *developmentalism approach* and refers to the global south as Third World or developing countries.

⁷² Using Robinson’s words: “Opposing *tradition* to *modernity* is the first and largest error of existing accounts of the modern. And viewing the embrace of novelty as *innovative* in Western contexts but *imitative* in others is its second profound error” (Robinson 2006a, 7).

⁷³ One of the first and most important publication on this topic has been published by UN-Habitat in 2003. Not by chance, it is called *The challenge of slums. Global report on human settlements 2003*.

Cities with slums or slum cities? “In 2010, UN-Habitat made the distinction between *cities with slums* where the divide between rich and poor is quite clear and *slums cities* in which the rich and the poor live side by side. [...] *Slum cities* rather than *cities with slums*, we are told, are prevalent throughout sub-Saharan Africa” (Huchzermeyer 2011, 7).

peripheries [...] – all largely steered by private, not public interest” (UN-Habitat 2013b, 10). The description of negative features depends strictly on the continuous comparison with the dominant Western perspective, without grasping the nuances of reality and its space. Focus is given to symptoms. The risk of this narrative is to omit the fundamental understanding of causes, which goes beyond physical and legal aspects⁷⁴.

In recent years, there has been an increasing amount of literature which tries to dismantle the two above-mentioned dominant narratives⁷⁵. These mainstream narratives are called *telescopic* by Amin (2013) since they tend to focus on specific aspects of cities – considered as prevailing. As a consequence, they forget about the real complexities of cities. Amin argues that “two powerful urban imaginaries” exist: “one from a colonizing minority with powerful allies and the other form advocates of a contained majority, both ironically tracing similar subjectivities of survival and reward” (Amin 2013, 477). These kinds of urbanism⁷⁶ – that we can also call narratives – are defined as “telescopic urbanism, with its interest in discrete territories rather than the relational urban topography. [...] With no regard for the city as a social whole, it dismantles the politics of shared turf, common interests and mutual obligations, in the process negating the poor anything more than their own enclaves and efforts, exonerating the rich, powerful and influential from doing anything about slum/squatter city, and dissolving any expectation that the contract between state and society should extend to the poor, now in any case reconfigured as the resourceful” (Amin 2013, 484). Amin calls for a radically different urban imaginary, one that thinks “the city once again as a provisioning and indivisible commons to which the poor have equal entitlement on a human rights basis” (Amin 2013, 477). On the contrary, according to the theories of global and mega-cities, the poor, the slum cities or the cities of the south of the world are simply *off the maps*⁷⁷. For this reason, new approaches to urban theory have come out as a response. The most relevant one for this study is known as the *ordinary city* approach, that has become popular thanks to Jennifer Robinson (2006a).

⁷⁴ About cause-effect relationship see chapter 3.2.3.

⁷⁵ These alternative visions, which aim to “*bring the city back*, and [...] work on planning concepts such as *just cities*, *network society*, *partitioned cities*, *mongrel city*, *ethnocratic cities* and *urban informality*” were considered at the margin of the theoretical debate by Yiftachel (2006, 214). Today, their growing attention set them in the contemporary academic discourse, even if they are still considered non-mainstream.

⁷⁶ These categories are called the *business consultancy city* and the *human potential city* (Amin 2013). They reflect in a way the paradigm of the global and the mega-cities narratives.

⁷⁷ “While global cities, mainly in the First World, are seen as command and control nodes of the global economy, the cities of the global South are scripted as megacities, big but powerless. Off the map, they are usually assembled under the sign of underdevelopment” (Roy and Ong 2011, 308). “Vast territory that has become increasingly peripheral, increasingly excluded from the major economic processes”: these cities are defined as *off the map* (Robinson 2002, 536).

“The ordinary city approach brings the city *as a whole* back in to view or, more properly, the city in all its diversity and complexity” (Robinson 2006a, 10). In this case, the frame of reference is wide and all-inclusive instead of telescopic. It focuses on an “overlapping network of interventions” (Robinson 2002, 545) rather than emphasising a limited range of economic or political aspects. The starting point for Robinson is the “geographical division of urban studies between urban theory, broadly focused on the West, and development studies, focus on places that were once called *third world cities*” and the “persistent alignment of *theory/ development* dualism with the *West/ third world* division in urban studies” (Robinson 2002, 531). Beginning with the denial of this categorization, the author refers to all cities as ordinary, as “dynamic and diverse, if conflicted, arenas for social and economic life”. This approach “forms the basis for a new, post-colonial framework for thinking about cities, one that cuts across the long-standing divide in urban scholarship” (Robinson 2006a, 1). Similarly, Yiftachel has stated the need to re-engage planning theory towards *south-eastern perspectives* in order to “constitute the basis for alternative knowledge [which] may not only be relevant to their own regional settings, but may also become a source of *reverse flows* of theoretical knowledge, as northern-western cities increasingly face *south-eastern* phenomena” (Yiftachel 2006, 216). Some years later, Roy and Ong underlined the necessity for “new approaches in global metropolitan studies, those that can trouble both political economy and postcolonial frameworks [...] in the production of knowledge about the urban condition” (Roy and Ong 2011, 307). This point of view clearly agrees with the need to go beyond a telescopic attitude⁷⁸. Their proposal expands the idea of ordinary city, underlying the constant formation of cities as a site of experimentation and being conscious of a peculiar aspect and a global one at once. The so-called *worlding city* is described “as a milieu of intervention, a source of ambitious visions, and of speculative experiments that have different possibilities of success and failure [...]; as both a site of emergence and as a mass dream” (Roy and Ong 2011, xv-xvi).

The frames of reference described above have something in common: they all challenge telescopic urbanism. They criticise the division “of urban studies between Western and Other cities: celebrations of urban *modernity* and the promotion of urban development. Together these have produced a deep division [...] demarcating difference in a system of hierarchical relations amongst cities” (Robinson 2006a, 2). The categories of rich world-class cities – composed of wealthy successful citizens – and poor mega-cities – composed of urban poor – are denied simply because they are products of a colonial approach. “The city is

⁷⁸ The two dominant approaches which investigate “contemporary cities and urban conditions [are considered]: (a) the political economy of globalization; and (b) the postcolonial focus on subaltern agency” (Roy and Ong 2011, 3). Both models tend to be reductionist since they are focus on economy or politics.

viewed not as an exclusive site of capitalism or postcolonial activism, but as a milieu that is in constant formation, drawing on disparate connections, and subject to the play of national and global forces” (Roy and Ong 2011, 3). Undoubtedly, the colonial past of African countries has shaped and influenced them; but there is a “need to define a new paradigm for the city of the South. While fully recognizing the impact of the colonial and post-colonial relationships [...] it is a mistake to continue looking at the city of the South only as the outcome of the industrialized West's political and cultural dominance”. This research agrees with Balbo’s statement, which “uses the expression *city of the South* first and foremost, to stress the necessity to abolish it” (Balbo 2012, 3). Using Yiftachel words, “the use of binary categories [...] is aimed at sharpening the arguments, rather than at describing an *objective* reality. Needless to say, there are no clear-cut distinctions between North and South, West and East, discourse and materiality or homeland and diaspora. These categories should be seen as *zones* in a conceptual grid which attempts to draw attention to the main loci of power and identity within an obviously messy, overlapping and dynamic world” (Yiftachel 2006, 212).

North and south, wealth and poverty, formal and informal, local and global aspects need to be considered together in what we can call *ordinary lived city*. This thesis emphasizes that these dichotomic approaches are obsolete⁷⁹ and it underlines the importance of the point of view as the first instrument of the analysis. While acknowledging the great influence of colonialism and globalization, it recognizes the need to elaborate a perspective that focuses not only on dominant viewpoints and common features, but recognises peculiarities of places. This study agrees with Robinson’s proposal to overcome the dualism between theory and development, between modernism and developmentalism, between First and Third Worlds or between the West and the rest of the world, since these hierarchies and categorizations have real consequences. Moreover, cities in South Africa can be defined also as *lived cities* since space has been mostly moulded by local dweller. The South African architect Heinrich Wolff used the term *lived city* as opposed to *executive city*: “The executive city is made by politicians, government, administrators, designers, professionals, laws, building regulations, etc. The executive city tries to shape the future of the city. The lived city is the physically transformed fabric that comes about through the actions of people in the conduct of their lives, be it as individuals or groups” (Wolff 2014, 8). South African cities – as cities all around the world – are composed of a mix of executive and lived city, and often the two are clearly distinct. The lived city mirrors the interventions of people in urban spatiality. It is particularly evident in poor areas, but it can happen in every area of the city. At the same time, cities all around the world give evidence of a growing inequality,

⁷⁹ as underlined already in chapter 3.1.1 and demonstrated here (Robinson 2002 and 2006a, Roy 2005, Yiftachel 2006, Roy and Ong 2011, Balbo 2012 among others)

in economic as well as spatial terms (UN-Habitat 2016). Therefore, the urban poor and the rich coexist just theoretically: they are expected to share the same city, while they frequently use different and parallel spaces. In other words, the two spatial worlds tend not to mingle. On the contrary, they tend to create *enclaves* dedicated to specific groups. According to Secchi (2013), urbanism has played a role in this process and has precise responsibility in the aggravation of inequalities. Urbanism has contributed to confirm economic dynamics within the spatial structure of contemporary cities. Moreover, new ways of communication and information altered profoundly the way we meet and consequently the way of experiencing urban spaces.

To combat this tendency to separation, the attempt of this research is to look at Cape Town (paradox of coexistence of the urban poor and the rich) as an *ordinary worlding lived city*, then changing the dominant narrative. It is ordinary because it needs to be analysed and studied as a whole including its huge internal diversity and inequalities. It is worlding since it is composed by a milieu of interventions which are also influenced by national and global forces. And it is lived because most of its space has been created by the action of people living in it. The focus of this research is on poorer areas, always taking into account their relationship with the rest of the city, with international interest and the citizens' point of view. Policies and architectural practices will be analysed to test how the executive and the lived city coexist; how and if the boundaries between the poor and the rich are defined; and what can happen in the connection spaces between the two.

3.2 The potential of public space

In chapter 2 and chapter 3.1, the narrative of separation has been explored and the frame of reference of this thesis has been delineated. The following sections explore the role of public space within this discourse. The rhetoric of public space usually refers to inclusion and place of social coexistence and integration. Theoretical references about the concept of public space in South Africa shows that the reality of contemporary cities differ from this rhetoric. The above paradox will be challenged in this thesis: the practice of building public space will be examined with the aim of evaluating the contrast between policy – or rhetoric – and architectural practices.

3.2.1 Defining public space in South Africa

The title of this thesis includes the words *public open space*. Public open space is a compound word, it refers to public spaces: spaces in urban environments which are accessible to everyone and which are typically considered as important and positive elements of urbanity. The adjective open is used to specify that the interest of this research is about urban open-air space, which includes hard and soft surfaces, paved or green ones. Public open spaces have been in urban history the skeleton of urban planning and of urban life. The unbuilt was not a synonymous of unplanned. On the contrary, public open spaces were the structure of cities, at least until the Modern planning period which have focused on buildings as opposed to spaces between them. These western approaches were exported all over the world, intertwining with local culture of urban organization. Generally speaking, public open spaces may be described as an open space which can be shared and used by inhabitants and as a place for interaction (social or economic). In this sense, public open space is a common ingredient of every city. Normally we refer to those spaces as positive, while it is true that some of them can be conceived or can become highly negative⁸⁰. Worldwide, there have been great changes in urban spaces in the last century (rapid growth of urbanization, zoning, suburban development, shopping plazas, private focus, globalization, digital revolution, etc.). Those modifications complicate the understanding, the use and hence the definition of public open space. Moreover, the universal use of these terms and the cultural mediation of international organizations (such as UN-Habitat, UNESCO) risks trivializing the specific and ordinary meaning of this term. If we consider public space as an ordinary place, as the place for social and economic interactions, it would strictly

⁸⁰ Interactions between people in public space could be both profitable and conflictual. The reasons of this negativity are multiple and depends on specific cases. Some South African public open spaces are considered desolate, dirty and even dangerous. In the following chapters, it will be explained why and how the public space in South Africa has assumed these features.

depend on socio-economic and culture features of the specific place analysed. Therefore, general definitions are relevant to frame the overall context but they may be misleading in a specific context. In fact, public space is often used as a commonplace by scholars, but also by professionals, who propose public space as a panacea for social and cultural urban challenges. Indeed, these clichés sometimes are used to exorcise a crisis of urban disciplined of the last decades. Reclaiming the role of public space does not mean to affirm that the design of public space could suddenly solve complex urban issues of a certain area. By contrast, analysing public space within the local socio-economic and cultural context may suggest new way of interpreting public space itself. This chapter attempts to express how public open spaces is conceived at a theoretical level in South Africa. Thus, through the analysis of a specific public open space in Cape Town, the definition of public space will be examined and tested.

One of the most common definition of public space in Cape Town is that of Prof. David Dewar: “[Public spaces] represent the primary, and arguably the most important, form of social infrastructure. They constitute the gathering or meeting places within settlements: the places where people experience, both formally and informally, the public life which is the *raison d'être* of settlements. While being important for all inhabitants, they are particularly significant in the lives of the poor” (Dewar and Todeschini 2004, 69)⁸¹. This research attempts to retrace the meaning of public space in the recent history of South Africa in the light of Dewar’s definition. The concept of public space includes universal significances which are then redefined according to local features. Firstly, this study refers to the international significance of the concept; secondly, it focuses on the South African application of the term.

Public space as free space, open to everyone, space for meeting and sharing, inclusive and democratic space (Madanipour 2010; Paasche 2012; Roy and Ong 2011; Bianchetti 2015 among others) is the intrinsic – and international – meaning of public space. Sometimes these meanings are overused as commonplaces. In 2011, UN-Habitat launched the *Global Public Space Programme*⁸² to promote the idea of public spaces as a fundamental ingredient for quality of urban life,

⁸¹ In the publication *Rethinking Urban Transport after Modernism* the authors dedicate the first part of the chapter 6 to the understanding of the role of public space. The above-mentioned definition starts as follows: “Public space [...] does not refer to a specific land use but rather to a generic way of thinking about settlement as totalities. The term relates to all of the public spatial voids within settlements. These constitute the public rooms and seams of connectivity within settlements. In positive urban environments, all of these spaces operate as social spaces” (Dewar and Todeschini 2004, 69).

⁸² In the related document called *Global public space toolkit. From global principles to local policies and practice* public space is defined as “a vital ingredient of successful cities. They help build a sense of community, civic identity and culture. Public spaces facilitate social capital, economic development and community revitalisation” For more information see the following link: <https://unhabitat.org/urban-initiatives/initiatives-programmes/global-public-space-programme/> (retrieved October 19, 2017).

demonstrating growing interest in the topic internationally. Paasche reflects on this idealized idea of “public space as an open democratic space in which social interactions are possible and urban life is being made; here city life means being together with strangers” (2012, 50); while Madanipour argues that in contemporary discourses “public spaces mirror the complexities of urban societies” (2010, 1). Madanipour also underlines the significance of public spaces “for all urban societies, no matter what the size of the city, its economic basis or its political and cultural configurations. [...] Public spaces provide linkages between private spheres, and represent the character and quality of city as a whole. The decline of public space reflects a breakdown in social and spatial linkages and a deterioration of the city as a whole” (2010, 237-238). Therefore, the crisis of contemporary urban spaces is reflected in the “changing nature of public space. Public open spaces are changing from being embedded in the social fabric of the city to being a part of more impersonal and fragmented urban environments” (Madanipour 2010, 238). Hence, the ideal of public space and its crisis are both pointed out. The first concept remains a reference for academic discourses, while the second mirrors the spatial fragmentation of cities. This intrinsic meaning of public space depends also on the fact that “much of the contemporary understanding of the idea of public space has its roots in the modern, bourgeois West” (Houssay-Holzschuch and Thébaud 2015, 2). At the same time, “there are three prevailing interpretations of public space. [...] The political, juridical, and social definitions of public space differ; they describe a variety of phenomena and/or spaces. Consequently, when referring to public space, it is necessary to indicate which of the three levels are involved: the political, as a space of debate; the juridical, as public property; or the social, as a space accessible to everyone” (Houssay-Holzschuch and Teppo 2009, 353-354). In this quote, the economic aspect is not cited, even if in South African context is very relevant. Dewar refers specifically to the social level as the most important, where individuals or groups of people are the core. At the same time, he also refers to political level implicitly⁸³. In conclusion, the common use of the term public space refers to intrinsic or rhetorical feature of space that consider public spaces “much more than *just* spaces used by citizens”⁸⁴. They include not only political, juridical and social values, but they can also offer economic, environmental, cultural benefits. The spatial configuration of public space does not just refer to squares, parks, promenades etc. It also refers to streets, which are the most basic element of a city’s spatial structure. They are the most widespread

⁸³ It is possible to deduce the involvement of the political level because Dewar definition has been used in the transient period after apartheid, when everything was politically linked.

⁸⁴ Saferspace is an interactive platform run by and for safety and violence prevention. The definition of public spaces has been retrieved in an article about the importance of quality public space in South Africa. <http://www.saferspaces.org.za/understand/entry/public-spaces> (retrieved February 02, 2016).

and essential form of public spaces, that should be considered as drivers of urban prosperity, as suggested by UN-Habitat (2013a).

The above idealistic and western definitions of public space are effective also in South Africa, as theoretical and rhetoric reference of the topic. It is possible to trace how and why this theme is valid in South African academic discourses. The contemporary concept of the public realm is strictly linked to urban design, which emerged since 1960s in North America as a response to a crisis in city planning. The Encyclopedia of Urban Studies refers to urban design as “the physical form of urban space at the scale of a city or a precinct; it may be conceived as the art of shaping cities and their public realm while producing liveable urban space. Deriving from this, urban design has to draw together many constituents of *placemaking* – as such architectural forms, urban landscaping, functions and uses of space, economic viability, social equity, environmental sensitivity and responsibility – into the creation of places of amenities, beauty, and identity” (Gospodini 2010, 859). In 2008, Mumford and Sarkis defined Josep Lluís Sert as the architect of urban design (Mumford and Sarkis 2008). Indeed, Sert inaugurated the first post-graduate course in urban design at Harvard University in 1960. In the same years, David A. Crane⁸⁵ directed the Pennsylvania Civic Design programme which is considered as a parallel initiative in urban design. The South African Roelof Sarel Uytenbogaardt⁸⁶ joined the urban design programme at Penn. And in the 1970s he returned to Cape Town where he founded the Master of City Planning and Urban Design degree programme. The actual *School of Architecture, Planning and Geomatics* at University of Cape Town (UCT) is still very connected to the legacy of Uytenbogaardt. Together with David Dewar, they have trained the current intellectual class of Cape Town⁸⁷. The link between Crane and Uytenbogaardt demonstrates how intellectual ideas have been shared and applied in different contexts.

At the same time, public space as democratic and open is a social construct to be tested in different cultures (Roy and Ong 2011). The next sections⁸⁸ introduce

⁸⁵ Crane graduated from the Graduate School of Design, Harvard in 1952 and was a research assistant for Kevin Lynch’s “Perceptual form of the city” research at MIT in 1955-1956 before he arrived at Penn in 1957. References for his work in bibliography (Crane 1960a, 1960b, 1960c).

⁸⁶ For biographical information see the following link: <http://www.artefacts.co.za/main/Buildings/archframes.php?archid=2099> (retrieved October 23, 2017).

⁸⁷ The influence of both – Uytenbogaardt and Dewar – has been evident during the conversations and interviews with academics, scholars and professionals who are linked somehow with UCT.

⁸⁸ Part of the writing presented here and in the chapter 4.1 refers to the draft work in course of publication done thanks to the PhD course *Domesticating the megacity. Micro-macro observations in China and beyond* (Prof. Michele Bonino, Francesca Frassoldati e Filippo De Pieri). The class investigated the meaning of some English words used internationally. Their significance may change and adapt themselves according to the different contexts of application.

how the *international* concept of public space have been adapted in South Africa. In fact, apartheid regime and then the shift from the apartheid period to the post-apartheid one, have influenced the significance of the word itself and also its spatial configuration. As described in the chapter about the relationship between apartheid and space⁸⁹, the power of apartheid was crucially dependent on the spatiality of “setting apart” (Robinson 1996). “In the era of *Apartheid City*, space was used to separate people and to fragment the city” (Le Grange 1994, 23) and regulation of public spaces was central to the apartheid system in order to ensure colonial power and control. Therefore, “the very essence of public space – as democratic, civic, and accessible – was negated by the apartheid system” (Houssay-Holzschuch and Teppo 2009, 355). For these reasons, it is possible to argue that the meaning of public space in the South African context until the early 1990s was reversed, becoming a representation of inequality and segregation. The political, juridical and social dimensions of public spaces were dismantled to sustain racist principles. For example, squares, beaches, parks and even benches were labelled as white only⁹⁰. Access to quality public spaces was denied to the majority of non-white South Africans and public spaces were both neglected and deprived of significance especially within the townships. In that environment, composed by segregated mono-functional townships, “public space or public use was conceived as separately zoned areas”, there was an abundance of open residual space, undefined edges and “no definition of the street as public space” (Le Grange 1994, 25). In this sense, the analysis of public space goes beyond its material space, it is not just about physical segregation, but it affects the possibility of its use and access. The consequence has been the denial of the essential aspects of public space, both in terms of theoretical reference and of spatial configuration. Therefore, talking about public space in contemporary South Africa means talking about the concept of *public space in a conflict zone*, where the denial of public space is a recurring feature and where power is affirmed and legitimized in the public space itself⁹¹ (De Leo, 2016). In fact, the role of public space in post-apartheid Cape Town – as in many other South African cities – have been strongly influenced by the existing public space, which was racial, unequal and segregated.

In this specific case, the chapter “square and public space” investigated these words in three countries: South Africa, China and Egypt.

⁸⁹ Chapter 2.1.1

⁹⁰ Many historical photographs in museums and archives demonstrate that.

⁹¹ The description by De Leo traces common features of the denial of public space in conflict zones: “la negazione dello spazio pubblico si manifesta con la sottrazione progressiva degli spazi di libertà cui corrisponde l’indebolimento dei sistemi cognitivi e collettivi di fiducia. Infatti, poiché proprio i parametri etici, sociali ed economici sono in conflitto, lo spazio è sottratto agli usi pubblici con il facile prevalere di quelli privatistici e dell’assoggettamento (esigenze di controllo e sicurezza, ad esempio), molto più funzionali all’esercizio del potere occupante o criminale che sia” (De Leo 2016, 72).



Fig. 9: Provocative entrance of the *Apartheid Museum* in Johannesburg⁹²
Photo by M. Bodino, 2017

The late 1980s and the first half of the 1990s are crucial to understand not only the political shift but also to comprehend the contemporary meaning of public space in South Africa. During this transitional period, public space became the site of resistance and protests, leading the country to the first democratic election in 1994. In these years, the recognition of the loss of traditional meaning of public space represented the fundamental starting point for a mind-set shift. This research organised the following chapters in order to trace this shift. Firstly, the objective is to understand the pursuit of inclusion through policies (chapter 4.2) and secondly, it is to learn from a case study with the current desegregation process of Cape Town (chapter 5).

⁹² Visitors – when receiving the museum easy ticket - are randomly categorized as *white* or *non-white*. In this way, visitors are encouraged to empathize.

3.2.2 Public space for the urban poor

Public space is important for city life and important for every individual, especially considering public space as an ordinary place. However, this thesis argues that public space is *essential* for the urban poor. In fact, at the theoretical level poverty is about lack, public space is about freedom, dignity and special places. It is a statement which has been affirmed by many authors, confirmed by the author previous researches and direct experiences⁹³ and that will be tested through the case study analysis of this research. In urban contexts, public spaces represent a network of spaces (planned but also residual) which connect people's activities. They "constitute the public *rooms* and seams of connectivity within settlements", as defined by Dewar and Todeschini. "While being important for all inhabitants, they are particularly significant in the lives of the poor. A defining characteristic of poverty is that households are unable to accommodate a full range of daily activities within private space. In these cases, the public spaces effectively operate as extensions, in the form of collective public living rooms, of private dwellings" (2004, 69). In vulnerable contexts, public space is the extension of private space, but it also provides opportunities to fill the spatial private shortage. In fact, public open space can enhance opportunity and capability, in terms of possibility to gather and meet different people⁹⁴, and even to establish *weak ties* (Granovetter 1973), connections fundamental for building an open and wide social network⁹⁵. Therefore, the potential role of public space in a *poor* urban context is amplified⁹⁶. A successful public space undoubtedly improves the neighbourhood around it, especially if that neighbourhood has been deliberately planned without public space. Theory is quite simple: if the public space is inclusive, then it provides freedom for all users; if it is connected to other public inclusive spaces within a strategic plan, it has the potential to connect people of the whole city. The real application and implementation is much more complex than this theoretical statement and that is the reason why a specific case study, in a poor area of Cape Town, will be explored.

Public space in poor context is often not a formally designed space. On the contrary, it is informally conceived and mediated between local dwellers. Normally it consists of very small pieces of land in strategic point of the

⁹³ The topic of the author's master thesis has been a bottom-up upgrading process in Dharavi (India) which is considered the most populated slum of the world (Bodino and Colucci, 2011). The time spent in poor settlements in India (Mumbai and Bangalore) and also in Brazil (Curitiba and in the Baixada Fluminense close to Rio de Janeiro) helped the author to observe and understand way of life of urban poor in these different contexts.

⁹⁴ Public space (ephemeral or temporary) can reinvent the notion of public sphere as a "place to interact with strangers, where one could act as a stranger. [...] the public domain would be the place through which individuals and groups could try on or invent new *social performances*" (Simone 2001, 114).

⁹⁵ The role of social media will open possible future works.

⁹⁶ This statement has been confirmed by the results of interviews conducted in Khayelitsha.

settlement and with specific function⁹⁷ for the community around them. It is usually small because land in informal settlements is a great value resource. If the space is not enough to provide such small public spaces, streets assume also the role of public spaces. The presence of such interactions and spaces in informal environments demonstrates the natural need of urban inhabitants to socialize and interact, and therefore, the actual need of having public open spaces⁹⁸.

Urbanization and poverty are key issues in every part of the world. Let's see why. According to the World Bank, more than 50% of the world population lives in urban areas⁹⁹, confirming urban transition as a fundamental topic in the international agenda. At the same time, social and spatial polarization within cities is increasing. Therefore, urban poverty¹⁰⁰ is an interdisciplinary contemporary question. In the past, it has been classified as a *problem* of specific part of the world¹⁰¹. On the contrary, the problem is indeed an international *question* to be discussed when challenging the North-South geographies (Roy and Crane 2015). In Italy – and in many other countries of the First World – concepts like urban poverty, slum, informality are treated as *problems of others* although these concepts are global, and increasingly internal. In recent years, this growing consciousness has stimulated discussion to understand the question of urban poverty and to propose responses. Inequality and urban poverty, and their relationship with public open spaces are treated in this section.

“The last decades have seen an increased interest in development processes worldwide, starting from the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) to the most recent UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Poverty has always existed, but thanks to the MDG, it has been treated as a global issue¹⁰²[...]. The tenth goal of the UN Agenda 2030 has been defined as *reduce inequality within and among countries*. “While income inequality between countries may have been reduced, inequality within countries has risen. There is growing consensus that economic growth is not sufficient to reduce poverty if it is not inclusive and if it

⁹⁷ The space conceived as public may serve as a market place, as a prayer place, as a place to make the children play, it may have community toilets or a tap for water, or a tree which provide shadow, etc.

⁹⁸ The analysis of the case study will prove that: chapter 5.

⁹⁹ The 2008 marks the year of overtaking. Data consulted at the following link: <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.URB.TOTL.IN.ZS?end=2016&start=1960&view=chart> (retrieved November 8, 2017).

¹⁰⁰ The concept of urban poverty, pivotal of this thesis, have been examine in depth by the author also thanks to the summer school *Urban poverty. The praxis of planning in unequal cities*, organized at Sapienza University of Rome from the 29th August to 2nd September 2016. The International workshop has been organized in its first edition in 2016 by Prof. Daniela De Leo in the Architecture Faculty. Relevant lecturers (such as Ananya Roy, Salvatore Monni, Gaetano Giunta) challenge the theory of urban poverty. Some of the concept presented in this chapter result from this workshop experience and its following reflections.

¹⁰¹ Specifically, the one called Third World or Global South.

¹⁰² In MDGs, goal n. 1 is *Eradicate extreme poverty & hunger*. In SDGs, goal n. 1 is *End poverty in all its forms everywhere*.

does not involve the three dimensions of sustainable development – economic, social and environmental [...],¹⁰³. In other words, although the Gross Domestic Product growth has been achieved in many countries, the benefits of this progress have not been distributed homogeneously¹⁰⁴. One of the simplistic consequences has been to create *growth* instead of real development. Of course [...], the economic sector cannot be ignored in our globalized economy, but the economic indicators are not enough to represent the complex social, cultural, spatial and economic reality (as stated in the UN Goal n.10)” (Bodino 2016, 335-336). The standard economic measure of income inequality is the Gini coefficient. It represents the income distribution of the residents of a nation. The lower the number is, the more it represents perfect equality (a proportional distribution of resources); the higher the number is, the more it represents perfect inequality (where one individual has all of the income or other resources and no one else has any). In other words, “the meaning of the Gini index can be understood in terms of the *income gap* created by unequal resource distribution” (UN-Habitat 2010, 62). Gini coefficient focused only on economic aspects, leaving out social and spatial ones.

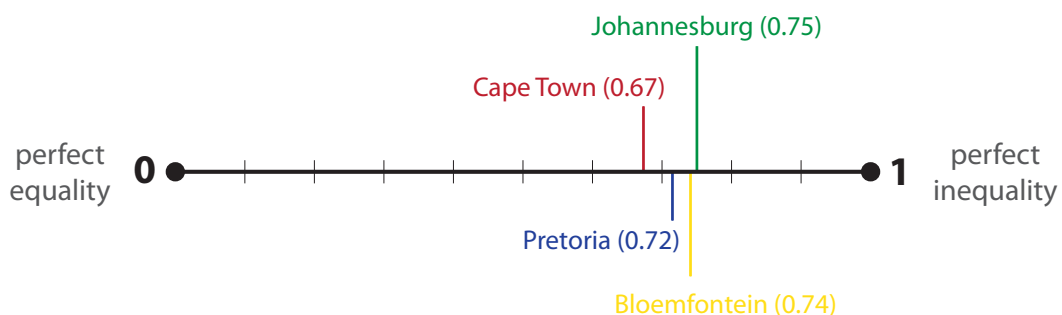


Fig. 10: South African major cities' GINI coefficient (income based)¹⁰⁵
By M. Bodino, 2017

According to a World Bank estimate and UN-Habitat, South Africa is the most unequal country of the world in terms of Gini coefficient¹⁰⁶. As shown in Figure 11, the index increased from 1993 to 2011. There has been no

¹⁰³ For more information see UN, “Sustainable Development Goals. 17 Goals to Transform Our World”. Link: <http://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/sustainable-development-goals/> (retrieved March 25, 2017).

¹⁰⁴ The increase of wellness on the whole and the disproportional share of its benefits produce or reinforce unequal distribution. “This phenomenon is evident in the countries of the South, but is becoming alarming in the North too. This is probably another reason of the growing attention of this topic in the West” (De Leo *et al.* 2017, 442). A worsening of global inequality – in terms of economic aspects – has been also demonstrated by Yuri Dikhanov (2005), who showed that an increasingly small percentage of world population hold three-fourths of the world's entire income. The graph called *Where the money* is available on this link:

<http://planetmat.blogspot.it/2012/11/the-world-in-tenths.html> (retrieved September 6, 2016).

¹⁰⁵ Data extracted from UN-Habitat 2010, 193.

¹⁰⁶ According to *The state of world's cities 2010/2011. Bridging the urban divide*, South Africa urban Gini coefficient is the highest of Africa: between 0.67-0.75 (UN-Habitat 2010, 193).

improvement at all in the Gini Index since the end of apartheid despite the fact that the share of social spending since 1990 has been addressed toward a more equitable distribution of social goods among the population.

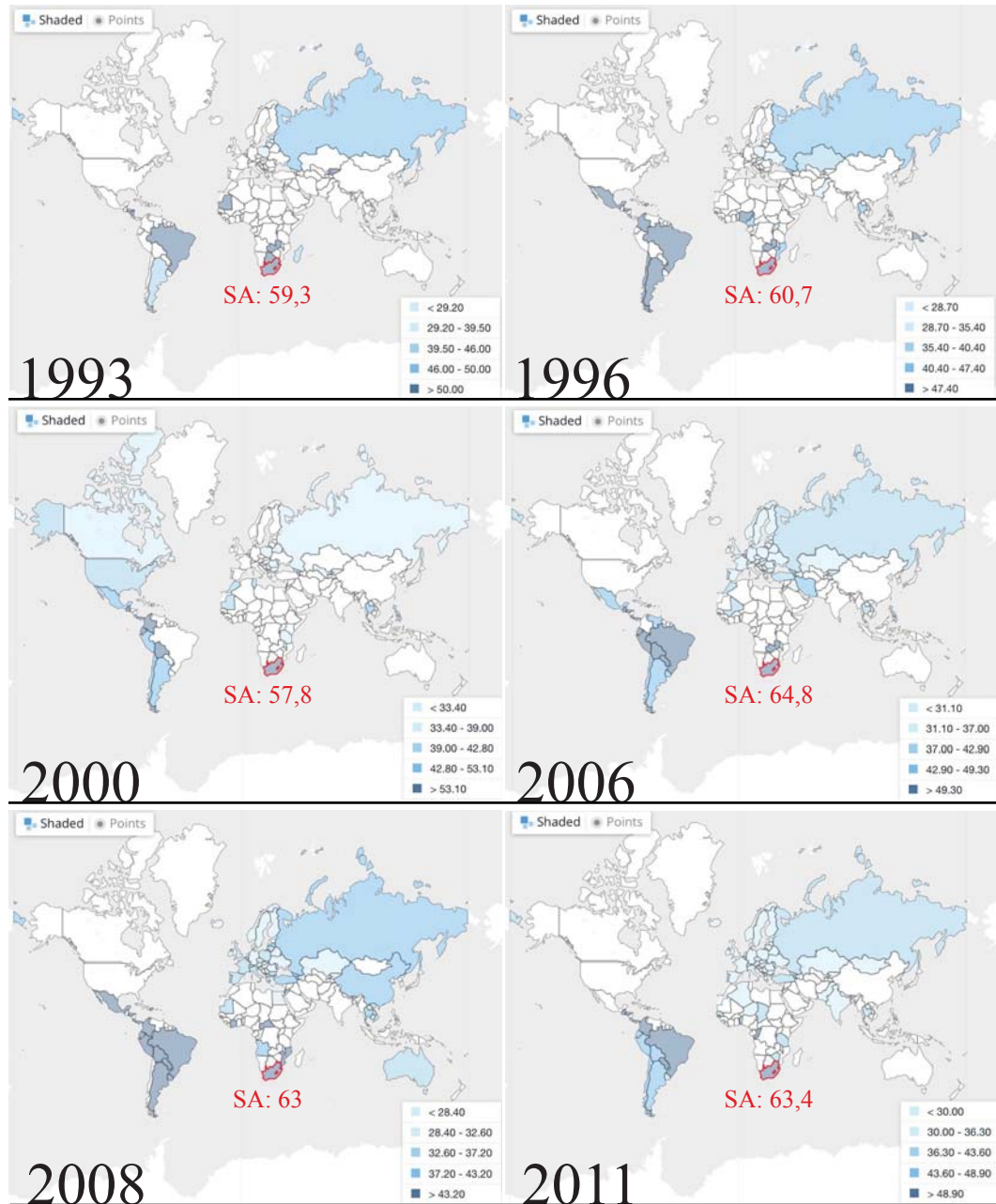


Fig. 11: GINI index: 1993, 1996, 2000, 2006, 2008, 2011¹⁰⁷
By M. Bodino, 2017

¹⁰⁷ Data collected from the World Bank estimate. Retrieved November 7, 2017 from: <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.GINI?end=2011&locations=ZA&start=1993&type=s&shaded&view=map&year=2011>

Urban poverty – and also inequality – is a multidimensional issue, which involves people, places and policies (De Leo *et al.* 2017)¹⁰⁸. Both visible and invisible aspects are relevant. The visible ones are connected to spatial aspects, such as territorial marginality, spatial negligence and lack of maintenance and basic services. Invisible aspects include deprivation – a *condition of lack*: lack of choice, freedom, resources, quality, sense of community, *capabilities* (Nussbaum 2011) and the absence of the *right to the city* (Lefebvre 1970), of capacity to aspire, to have access and representation. Hence, urban poverty does not only refer to the lack of economic means, which are connected to the growing polarization of society and the problematic fragmentation in the urban spaces described above. Urban poverty refers to low social conditions overall, to vulnerability, marginalization and exclusion¹⁰⁹. Some spatial aspects contribute to exacerbate these social conditions. If so, they also have the potential to mitigate these conditions. As a consequence, poverty is much more than a privation of economic aspect. In other words, “Poverty is not just about economy, is about power and about political appearance [...]. Capitalism and neoliberalism lead to concentration of wealth and growing inequality: just a democratic world can counterbalance and contrast the system”¹¹⁰.

¹⁰⁸ The word *poor* and *urban poverty* used by the author in this dissertation take into account all these aspects. “Poverty was assumed as a multidimensional problem of People+Place+Policies/institutions, by trying to underline the responsibility of academic and professionals since space matters in producing of social problems but also in the protection of rights and in the creation of citizenship opportunities” (De Leo *et al.* 2017, 442).

¹⁰⁹ “Poverty means first of all *marginalization*, then *exclusion* and, increasingly, *segregation*. (De Leo *et al.* 2017, 440).

¹¹⁰ Ananya Roy claimed this concept in one of her lessons during the summer school *Urban poverty. The praxis of planning in unequal cities*. in Rome (2016).

3.2.3 A rights-based approach

“Inequality [and also poverty] is often considered as a problem to be solved or eradicated, without taking into account the bigger scale relationships that have caused it” (De Leo *et al.*, 2017, 442). The cause-effect relationship will be introduced in this chapter since it is essential when treating complex phenomena. In fact, there is a paradox within urban poverty discourse: slums are an essential part of the *world class city* although the world class city fights to eradicate the growing number of slums. This assertion is true even if it is still considered counter-current compared with the dominant western academic urban debate¹¹¹. The leading mind-set continues to link economic growth with development, poverty with underdevelopment and informality. At the same time, a growing body of literature is interested in the complexities of global urban phenomena, trying to trace interplays and complex cause-effect relationships between those concepts. No simple answer can be extracted from this attempt, but particularly relevant for this thesis is the rights-based approach proposed by Huchzermeyer (2011). The author – in her book entitled *Cities with slums. From informal settlement eradication to a right to the city in Africa* – underlines a fundamental problem in the approach of UN-Habitat towards slums. The Millennium Development Goal 7 Target 11 is “improving the lives of 100 million slum dwellers”, incorrectly communicated to national governments as “achieve slum-free cities by 2020”. The transition between the concept of improving informal settlement dwellers’ lives to the powerful slogan *cities without slums* reveal an approach focused only on symptoms of poverty/ informality, and not on causes and the complexity of poverty/informality. The contrast between the right-based approach and the MDGs operational approach is clearly described in the book (Huchzermeyer 2011, 36-39)¹¹². The rights-based approach seeks “to link the development enterprise to social movement demand for human rights and inclusion, and to tie development to the rhetorical and legal power of internationally recognized human rights”. In addition, a rights-based attitude treats the poor as agents, it identifies duties for the states, then defines political implications. On the contrary, the operations approach of the MDGs treats the poor as objects, not articulating duties for the state and therefore avoiding political implications (Huchzermeyer 2011, 37-38).

The rising interest in universal rights and citizenship has been produced by democratization (Amin 2014), but it has spread in parallel to the growing

¹¹¹ The video *Are slums our global urban future?* by GlobalPOV project describes clearly the dependency between world class city and slums. It has been published online on July 31, 2013; written and narrated by Ananya Roy. Retrieved December 12, 2016.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1xk7dr3VG6s>

¹¹² Huchzermeyer derives the exclusion of rights from the work by Nersol, Paul J. *Human Rights, the Millennium Development Goals, and the Future of Development Cooperation in World Development* 35(12): 2041-2055, 2007.

inequality in cities. Therefore, a new contradiction needs to be unpacked. A disconnection between international policies and local reality is still evident, but the new targets on the international agenda represent an important consciousness of contemporary questions to be faced. Indeed, the right to the city¹¹³, equity¹¹⁴, inclusion¹¹⁵ and spatial justice¹¹⁶ are nowadays common keywords¹¹⁷ in international¹¹⁸, national and local programmes. “The idea of a fair city is not a new or an entirely different way of seeing things – it builds on an extensive theoretical literature dealing with utopian concepts of urban welfare, the good city, the just city, the right to the city and even the resilient city – as well as a mass of policy-oriented debate around the most appropriate instruments and tools for achieving urban inclusion, redistribution and equity” (Parnell 2016, 110). A rights-based approach is relevant precisely because it brings attention back to people and to their needs. People are relevant because they represent the main resource of cities – *people as infrastructure* using Simone’s words (2004b). People can build their infrastructure through public space. For this reason, the inclusion of people in space and through space – as opposed to the separation of people – is relevant for this study. There is no doubt that in poorer area people fight not only for citizenship rights, but firstly for basic *lively infrastructure* (Amin 2014), provision of goods and services. And there is no doubt that those are preconditions for development¹¹⁹, while a realistic proposal for urban restructuring should consider also the building of spaces enabling links, social relations as well as merely physical infrastructure. Taking into account the bigger picture, this thesis refers to spatial justice (Soja 2010), so to aspects of space that can enhance justice, rights and interaction. Public open spaces represent the

¹¹³ Lefebvre 1970; Harvey 2008; Huchzermeyer 2011.

¹¹⁴ Refer to chapter 5.1 for more information and also to Figure 131.

¹¹⁵ Fairness, equity and inclusion cannot be used as interchangeable. In the urban literature *fairness* is not often used (exception in Parnell 2016: fair cities), while the words *equal* and its derivatives is of common use especially in the South African context as opposed of unequal term. *Inclusion* is a wide concept; it refers to the opposite of *exclusion*. Since “Apartheid South Africa must be among the most discriminatory and systematic examples of exclusive urbanisation” (Kasper et al. 2017, 7), the word inclusion used in South African discourses allude to the urban integration in racial term. At the same time, the word is used as a general positive aspect to be achieved to untangle apartheid legacy in a wider sense. In the present work, inclusion refer to the urban design approach that foster integration through the design of public spaces within the Cape Town metropolitan city. About a clarification of inclusion in the urban literature refer to Kasper et al. 2017 and McGranham et al. 2016.

¹¹⁶ Or to *spatiality of justice* (Soja 2010, 1), also called spatialization of our basic ideas of democracy and human rights. The intention of Soja is to bring the attention on the *spatial turn*.

¹¹⁷ Sometimes they are even overused terms.

¹¹⁸ Here one example: SDG, goal n. 11 is defines as “make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable”; social inclusion and equality are also central tenets of the 2030 Agenda.

¹¹⁹ For more information about preconditions for development see: Hirschman, Albert O., *I progetti di sviluppo: un'analisi critica di progetti realizzati nel Meridione e in Paesi del Terzo Mondo*, Milano, Angeli, 1975 (translated by Crosta, Pier Luigi).

spatial manifestation of equity (as opposed to inequality) and inclusion (as opposed to exclusion). The conclusion chapter collects and organizes how these theoretical concepts have been spatially applied – or not – in the case study. In fact, the research, in defining the geographical and theoretical references, take a position in studying the South African context and defines the lenses through which to read complexities in contemporary cities.

3.2.4 Upgrading and urban acupuncture approach

In the last few decades, the design of public space and public buildings is exhibited as the solution for upgrading and improving critical urban areas¹²⁰. Scholars and professionals need to be very careful with this banalization because the idea of public space, the way it is used and interpreted is strictly linked to local cultures, as described in chapters 3.2.1 and 3.2.2. Moreover, complexities of ordinary contemporary context may reveal new, various and mutable forms of aggregations. This chapter will describe the evolution of the upgrading interventions in South Africa and the urban acupuncture approach which have been used in the past decades to improve urban environments more generally.

Rights is a crucial and delicate word when discussing about informal settlement. And interventions in informal settlements is a controversial and complex topic as well. Internationally, the concept of in situ upgrading has been used as a way of intervention in informal settlements. In fact, in the 1970s when it was visible that slum clearance and public housing policies was not enough to stop the growth of informal settlement, in situ upgrading began to develop. (Cirolia *et al.* 2016). Its objective is “the improvement in the quality of life of the residents affected [and the] minimal displacement of residents” (Cirolia *et al.* 2016, 20). It can affect physical upgrading, security of tenure, social and economic interventions. In South Africa, upgrading “has focused on physical upgrading (the provision of houses and infrastructure) as opposed to more integrated approaches, on individual title deeds as the only form of tenure, and on rollover upgrading approach (in which the majority of residents are usually displaced) as opposed to an in situ upgrading approach” (Cirolia *et al.* 2016, 36). Around 2000, South Africa started to recognize a gap between its housing programme and a more integrated approach towards informal settlement upgrading¹²¹. Moreover, the practice related to upgrading in South Africa focused almost entirely on the private realm (individual dwellings, plots and related infrastructure) rather than focusing on the public realm. This research focuses on the few and recent attempts in South Africa to bring the attention on the public realm, applying the concept of *capital web*: “because the public elements of the city provide long-term structure, this should be where public investments is focused” (Daniels *et al.* 2016, 133). Moreover, informal settlements are urban areas where people has already built their homes laboriously to answer to the first basic need of shelter. The small resources available are invested in the private

¹²⁰ The design of schools, hospitals, wells, parks, squares, public transportation interchanges are typical examples.

¹²¹ “As the upgrading of informal settlement became a priority on the global housing agenda (through the adoption of MDG in 2000 and the publication of UN-Habitat’s *Challenge of slums* in 2003), the lack of an informal settlement upgrading programme in South Africa became an increasingly obvious gap in the overall housing programme” (Cirolia *et al.* 2016, 41).

realm. In situ upgrading consists of recognize that effort and thus concentrates the public resources on the public realm, combining urban scale strategies to neighbourhood scale intervention, which can also be incremental.

The urban acupuncture approach has been introduced by the work of Jaime Lerner in Curitiba¹²²(2014). Urban acupuncture is a very specific in situ intervention, not necessarily depending on a physical transformation: “sometimes it’s simply a good idea that can change a city’s life for the better” (Lerner 2014, 79). “Just as a good medicine depends on the interaction between doctor and patient, successful urban planning involves triggering healthy responses within the city, proving here and there to stimulate improvements and positive chain reactions. Intervention is all about revitalization, an indispensable way of making an organism function and change” (Lerner 2014, 1). Acupuncture combines political strategies with social and economic attention, it can involve public transportations, environmental and social programmes and urban projects. It involves planning, but it requires deep knowledge¹²³ and determination¹²⁴. The concept used by Lerner is multi-dimensional and affects the planning sphere, as much as the political and social sphere¹²⁵. This approach admits a failure since it is so quick and particular, but its requires to be inserted in a bigger picture of strategies to be effective as a whole.

The interpretation of urban acupuncture described by Frampton and de Solà-Morales (2008) refers to a great trust in the potential of urban design. In fact, urban acupuncture is defined as “a topographic but decidedly limited and hence realizable civic intervention, that is inserted into the urban fabric in such a way as to fulfil the double function of both overcoming certain manifest disjunctions in the continuity of its current form and use, while at the same time stimulating further future activity and development” (Frampton 2010, 13). The explicit focus of Manuel de Solà-Morales in his book *De cosas urbanas* is about architecture

¹²² Lerner is an architect, urban planner and politician. He was mayor of Curitiba for three times between the 1970s and the 1990s applying the urban acupuncture approach.

¹²³ Jan Gehl in the introduction of the book said: “There is plenty of good design but an extraordinary lack of good programming with a deeper understanding of problems, people and places” (Lerner 2014, xvi).

¹²⁴ “We know that planning process of a city takes time - and it has to - for it to involves a multitude of actors and issues, as well as long-term guidelines. However, sometimes, a simple, focused intervention can create new energy, demonstrating the possibilities of a space in a way that motivates others to engage with their community. It can even contribute to the planning process. This gets to the essence of true urban acupuncture - it needs to be precise and quick, that's the secret” (Lerner 2014, 4).

¹²⁵ Some examples of interventions in Curitiba: the introduction of the BRT system, bus token in change of garbage to solve the waste problem, the provision of water pipes and electrical cables using handrails of the paths and stairs to provide infrastructure to hillside favelas, the introduction of recreational and commercial facilities and community services in the level areas of hillside districts, the provision of public lighting as an orientation tool, etc. (Lerner 2014).

interventions, about strategic and systemic projects¹²⁶, to which a task of greater urban transformation is entrusted. In this case, the physical transformation and the good design is the core, while socio-economic implications are neglected. Brought to its extreme, the concept of urban acupuncture can become a provocative exhibition, a laboratory for experimentation: tactical urbanism also defined as “short term action for long term change”¹²⁷. These proactive incremental small changes encourage an alternative use and design of public space. Tactical urbanism relies on urban catalysts mode of city intervention, triggered by the action of urban dwellers¹²⁸. It is portrayed as bottom-up participation process as well as optimistic or even utopian tactics to design the urban future. The scale of impact and the objective of tactical urbanism may be overestimated, but it represents an alternative strategy to engage with public spaces and urban issues, which may stimulate new reflections and engagement of urban inhabitants. In other words, “perhaps the radical potential of tactical urbanism lies less in its role as an all-purpose method for designing urban futures, than as a radically democratic counterweight to any and all institutional systems, whether state driven or market dominated”¹²⁹.

This thesis will verify if and how interventions of urban acupuncture have been applied in Cape Town.

¹²⁶ "La acupuntura proyectual no tiene que ver tanto con el pequeño, lo minucioso o lo delicado, como con lo estratégico, sistémico e interdependiente" (de Solà-Morales).

¹²⁷ This definition is the title of the book *Tactical urbanism* by Lydon and Garcia, Washington; Covelo; London, Island press 2015.

¹²⁸ The MoMA exhibition *Uneven Growth. Tactical urbanism for expanding megacities* (November 2014 – May 2015, whose catalogue has been published in 2014 by the Museum of Modern Art, New York) summarised proposed interventions in six scenarios around the world, proposing tactics to solve the uneven growth of megacities.

¹²⁹ Brenner gives a critical review of the exhibition *Uneven growth* in the article *Is “tactical urbanism” an alternative to neoliberal urbanism?* posted on March 24, 2105 (https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&cad=rja&uact=8&ved=2ahUKewjm3NXSmt7dAhXF1iwKHb4ZBvsQFjAAegQICRAB&url=https%3A%2F%2Fpost.at.moma.org%2Fcontent_items%2F587-is-tactical-urbanism-an-alternative-to-neoliberal-urbanism&usg=AOvVaw10HkXAW3q-hnc20aNU8zn, retrieved June 4, 2018).

Chapter 4

Cape Town and the pursuit of inclusion

4.1 The urban transition of Cape Town¹³⁰ and its public spaces

The evolution of Cape Town is central to this thesis because when the Cape Town settlement began there was an emphasis on public spaces; that emphasis disappeared in the second half of the twentieth century. Understanding the reason for this transition may help to evaluate the current role of public spaces in urban restructuring.

4.1.1 Colonial origin

The inhabitants of the Cape region were Khoi pastoralist and San hunter gatherers before colonial arrivals: initially there were no black African in the Cape. The origin of *urban Cape Town*¹³¹ started in 1652, when the Dutch East India Company (VOC) occupied the Table Bay and established a small mercantile outpost, under the command of Jan van Riebeeck. Because of its racial composition, the Nationalist Government declared the Western Cape as a Coloured Labour Preference Area. As a consequence, very few black people initially worked in the Cape¹³², since Coloured people had priority in gaining every kind of jobs.

¹³⁰ (Dewar et al. 2012, Todeschini 1983, Todeschini 1994, Thompson 2001, Tomer 2016).

¹³¹ And also the origin of “modern South Africa began as a by-product of the enterprise of these Dutch merchants” (Thompson 2001, 33).

¹³² The few legal Africans lived in men-only hostels.



Fig. 12: Cape Town's unique topography, by M. Bodino, 2018¹³³

The strategic position of the valley is naturally protected by the fascinating Table Mountain and opened to worldwide economic opportunities thanks to the harbour. The town started on the shore of Table Bay and developed quickly thanks to its position. This area, called the *city bowl*, hosted the first settlement and defined the asymmetrical development of the city (Figure 14). The site topography is unique, creating a natural amphitheatre enclosed by the Table Mountain to the south (1,000 meters above sea levels), Devil's Peak to the east, Lion's Head and Signal Hill to the north-west.

According to Todeschini (1994) "three planning paradigms have featured in the historical development of Greater Cape Town": earlier colonial (1652-1840s), later colonial (1840s-1930s) and modern town planning (1930s to the present)¹³⁴. Earlier and later colonial development was guided by the *laws of Indies*¹³⁵ which included internal and external forces¹³⁶. It is relevant for this thesis that "the plan was not concerned with every aspect: it was limited to the most important

¹³³ The aerial photo used has been extracted from *maps* (Apple). Retrieved January 4, 2018.

¹³⁴ The first two periods refer to the Dutch and English occupation and influences.

¹³⁵ The *Laws of the Indies* was promulgated by Philip II of Spain in 1573, and influences the founding of settlements by other colonial power.

¹³⁶ "Cape settlement patterns during colonial times were the product of four main interacting sets of forces and constraints: a uniquely strategic and attractive, even spectacular, site; colonial mother country influence exerted first by Holland and then by England; the diverse background and cultural traditions brought by colonists from all over central Europe; and the internal imperatives of the local colonial society and economy" (Todeschini 1994, 31).

elements¹³⁷ [but including] a system of regular streets and squares for public use. [...] The most prevalent form was that of a grid of public routes defining private building lots and central public spaces” (Todeschini 1994, 32).

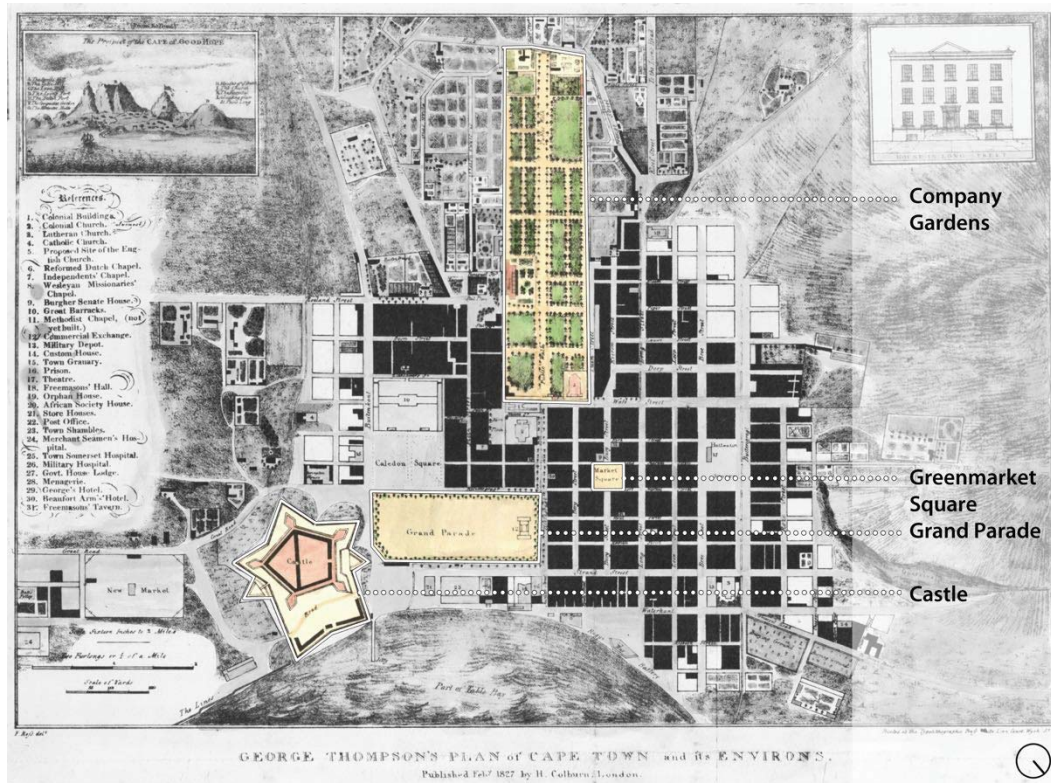


Fig. 13: Public space in historical map of CT, by G. Thompson, 1827¹³⁸

“In Cape Town, main public elements, such as the Castle and Grand Parade, the Company Gardens, Greenmarket Square and a variety of other spaces and building, were strategically located, and helped to organize the overall public space structure of the town. They were built as part of conscious acts of place-making. Public buildings were the foreground structures (the pivotal and unique buildings) of the settlements” (Todeschini 1994, 33). Using Tomer’s words, public spaces “were places for trading and performing the dominant social order. For the most part, the planning of streets, public spaces and key urban features in early, colonial Cape Town reflected European aesthetics and spatial traditions” (2016, 3-4). Under English control, the town continue to grow, intensifying the layout inherited from the Dutch and expanding the settlement around the slope of Table Mountain (along the ocean toward west and toward south). At the beginning of the twentieth century, Cape Town began to expand outside the city

¹³⁷ According to Todeschini, this urban planning structure reflects the dynamic city of Crane (Crane 1960).

¹³⁸ The figure has been composed using the *George Thompson’s plan of Cape Town and its environs. Published Feb. 1827 by H. Colburn, London.* (City of Cape Town Environment and Heritage Resources Information Centre: Historical map collection, all rights reserved).

bowl along two corridors: towards south and towards north-east along the main railway lines and communication axes¹³⁹. The expansion directions are quite visible in the diagram below: second and third image (Figure 14).

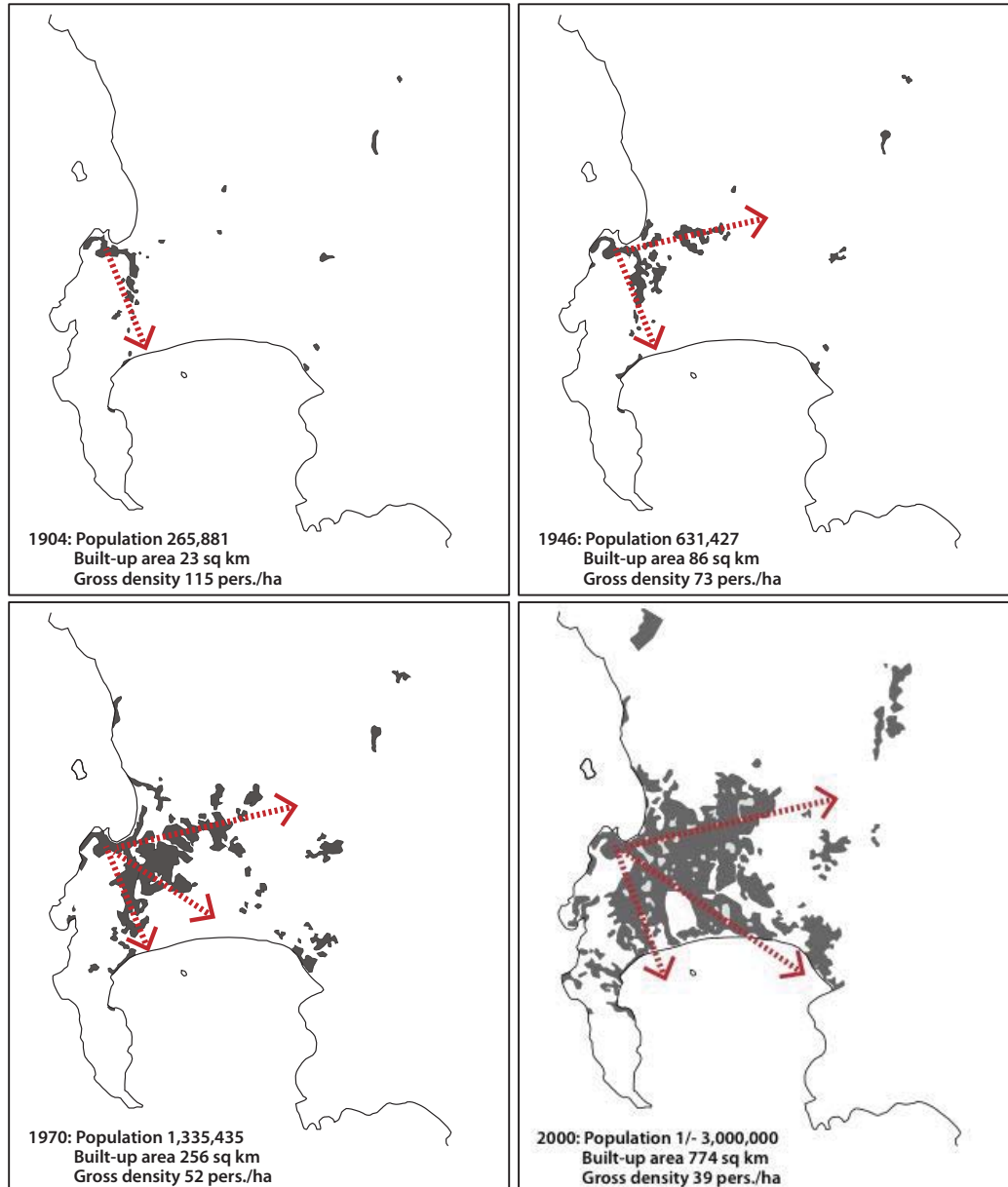


Fig. 14: Asymmetrical development of Cape Town¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹ The first expansion has been along Main Road (the so-called Southern corridor towards Muizenberg); the second has been along the Voortrekker Road corridor (towards Bellville).

¹⁴⁰ The images of the growth of Cape Town from 1904 to 2000 shows that the city has experienced a significant growth over the last century. Indeed, its density decreased from 115 persons per hectare to 39 persons per hectare over little less than a century. The drawings and the data presented have been redrawn by the author (original images is: *Fig. 1: Changes in the population density of Cape Town 1904-2000* from CoCT 2009, 3). The red arrows added by the author to the maps represent the asymmetrical development affected by the topography of the place.

4.1.2 Modern development

A great shift in Cape Town development occurred in the last century and especially after the Second World War, when much of the growth of the city occurred.

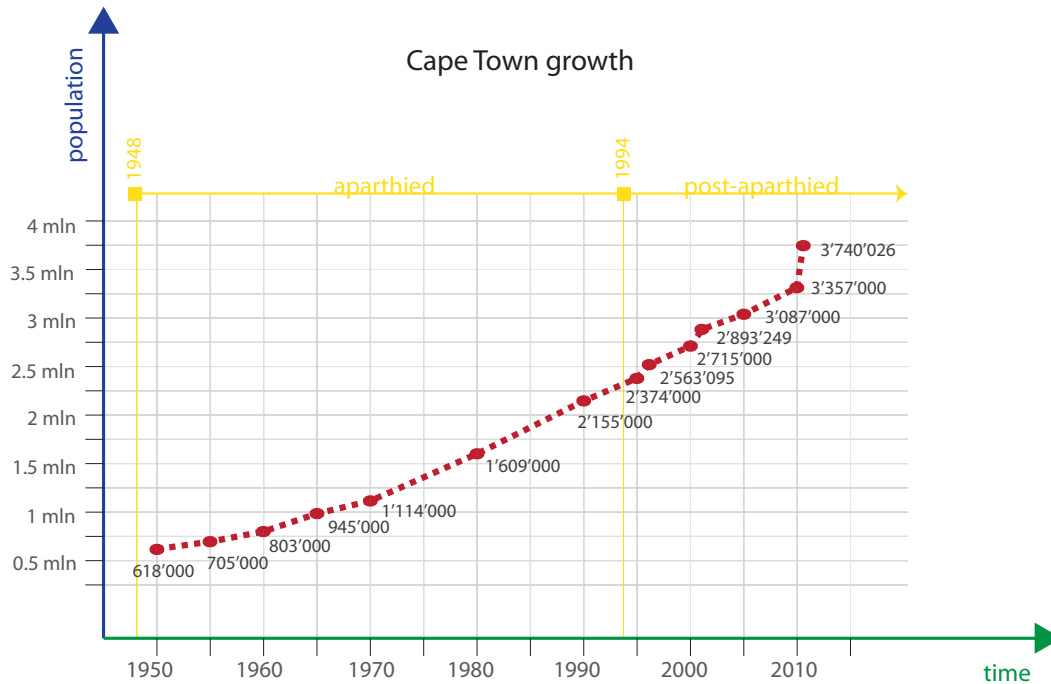


Fig. 15: Growth of the population in the Cape Town metropolitan area¹⁴¹
Composed by M. Bodino, 2017

This period of development followed the international rules of modernism, creating issues that many contemporary cities around the world are facing. The most relevant one for this research is that the centrality of space between buildings – streets and public spaces – disappeared. Open space remained as a left-over space or used as a buffer zone (particularly evident in cities of South Africa). Individual buildings – objects – became the focus of planning and design. In South Africa, housing in particular became the target of design. Open space became a land-use synonymous of green space, instead of a way of thinking and organizing urban spaces. Moreover, modern planning promoted zoning and the private use of motor cars. As a consequence, modernism created sterile mono-functionality and growing sprawl.

¹⁴¹ The data represented in the figure have been composed combining the data from different sources: from 1950 to 1980 (http://books.mongabay.com/population_estimates/full/Cape_Town-South_Africa.html - retrieved in February 7, 2017); 1990, 1995, 200, 2010 (UN-Habitat, 2010); 1996, 2001, 2011 (official Cape Town Census - retrieved in February 7, 2017: <http://www.capetown.gov.za/Family%20and%20home/education-and-research-materials/data-statistics-and-research/capetown-census>).

Within this period of great growth, an acceleration started between the 1960s and the 1980s, even if it did not combine with a corresponding economic development, and resulted in endemic poverty and unemployment (Dewar and Uytenbogaardt 1991, 67). In this same period, there was a rapid rise of Coloured population in 1960s, a sudden increase in the African population¹⁴² in the 1980s while the White population declined (Dewar and Uytenbogaardt 1991, 67)¹⁴³.

In Cape Town, the period of rapid urban growth shown in Figure 15 corresponds with the application of modern town planning rules and separate development. South Africa, like many other countries in Africa, was a place in which to apply and experiment modernity, its functionalism and its determinism. The modern town planning tradition was used in South Africa since the 1920s to respond to issues of health and general welfare¹⁴⁴, using the pretext of a threat to public health to establish separate areas for black people. The sanitary idea combined with rapidly expanding motor car usage matched the apartheid ideology perfectly. Therefore, the spatial functional zoning (separating dwelling, work, play and move) was used to plan the development of Cape Town, exacerbating the already existing correlation between ethnicity and wealth – and further separating the haves from the have-nots. The zoning principles and the asymmetrical radial programme are evident from the Cape Peninsula Regional Planning diagram in 1946, which was designed before the official beginning of apartheid (Figure 16).

¹⁴² The great number of Africans which compose today's Cape Town arrived around 1970s and 1980s, and almost all of this black migration was illegal. Therefore, a great number of informal settlement mushroomed in that period in peripheral area of the town.

¹⁴³ These data are shown in the figure "past and projected future population growth of Cape Town 1860-2000" by Tomas 1989.

¹⁴⁴ The power, in the hands of white and rich classes, was used to respond to their needs. Issues of health and general welfare were defined by the leading class, which imposes their rules and habits. Not necessarily, those rules were requested by the disadvantaged classes. This represents an educational approach of colonizer toward colonized.



Cape Peninsula Regional Diagram, Joint Town Planning Committee, c1946, Foreshore Scheme Final Report.

Fig. 16: Cape Town Foreshore Plan, Final report, 1946¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁵ Cape Peninsula Regional Diagram, Joint Town Planning Committee, c1946, Foreshore Scheme Final Report (Todeschini 1994, 37).

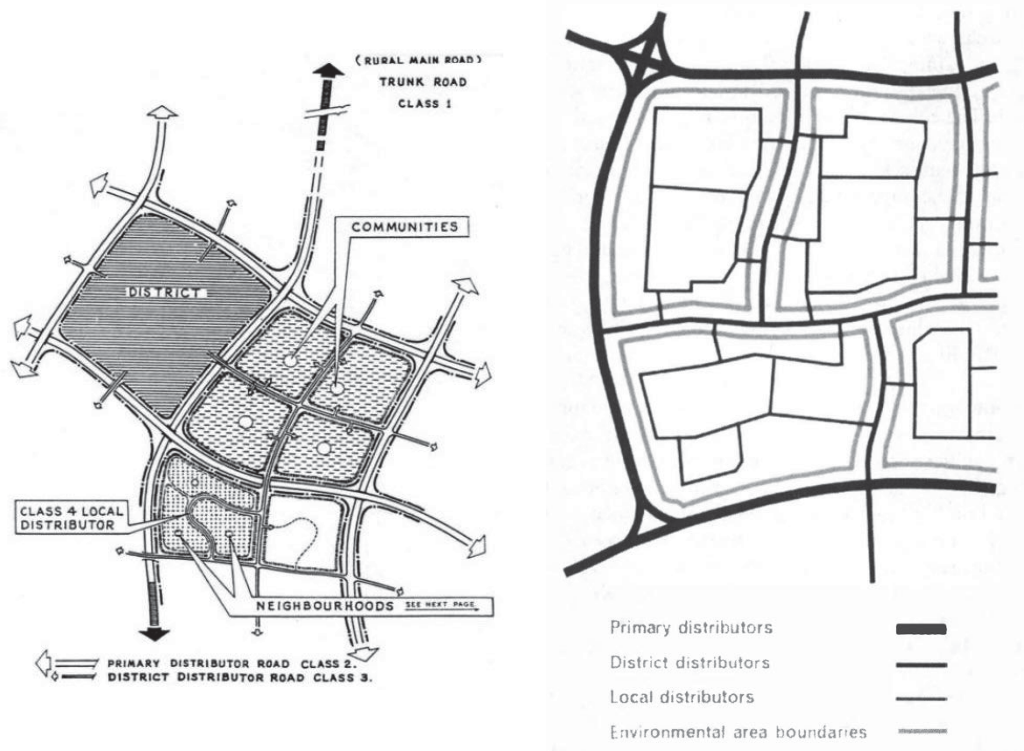


Fig. 17: Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) diagram¹⁴⁶

Fig. 18: Hierarchy of roads and environmental areas, 1963¹⁴⁷

The city was divided into cell areas, specifically planned as industrial, residential or green areas. Roads were the connection network for these areas and the private vehicle was interpreted as the fundamental means for free movement. The Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) diagram (Figure 17) used in South Africa reflected a literal interpretation of the modernist model, the urban structure of the Howard's *garden city* and the Le Corbusier's *Ville Radieuse*, but it was applied with the intent of functional segregation of races to plan the suburban enclaves of Greater Cape Town since the 1920s¹⁴⁸ (Todeschini, 1994). "Modernist planning precepts were also firmly entrenched being made to

¹⁴⁶ The diagram was originally prepared for the Department of National Housing by CSIR in 1993 (Todeschini 2015, 247). The title of the diagram in Todeschini book is: Generic Engineering Marco-Urban Diagram of CSIR of the 1970-90.

¹⁴⁷ Buchanan's proposal. The diagram has been extracted by Taylor (1998, 32). The original source is: Buchanan, C.D. *et al. Traffic in towns*, London, HMSO, 1963. The concept of ideal urban structure in the second post war period aimed both to maximise accessibility (efficient movement of vehicles) and to improve the quality of the physical environment. This organization "was composed of an orderly *cellular* structure of geographically distinct neighbourhoods or *environmental areas*" (Taylor 1998, 31).

¹⁴⁸ "Pinelands and Q-Town-Bridgetown were originally planned as satellite towns to Cape Town, in the 1920s and 1940s respectively. Atlantis and Mitchell's Plain are more recent examples. None are effectively operating as towns independent of Cape Town: they function mainly as dormitory suburbs. Langa, Guguletu, Nyanga, Bonteheuwel, Steenberg, Grassy Park and Khayelitsha are townships' examples from the 1920s to the present" (Todeschini 1994, 39).

serve both an industrialization and racial superiority agenda; imperatives that continue to live on in the DNA of South African cities. The Group Areas of Act of 1950 was the purist manifestation of this planning mind-set” (INTI 2016, 17). The CSIR diagram reflects clearly the modern concept of urban structure – Figure 18 – which aimed to maximize accessibility, but also to improve the physical environment in order to create the ideal city (Taylor 1998). In South Africa, the zoning mentality has been applied not only in order to separate unpleasant activities, but mainly to impose racial separation thanks to the creation of *neighbourhood units*, separated but dependent to the white city centre.

Modernism, apartheid - through spatial segregation – and migration shaped the evolution and form of today’s Cape Town. The expansion of the city, the fragmentation of the settlement and the undefined outer edges are visible aspects in the maps hereinafter (Figures 20 to 25)¹⁴⁹. The modern town planning went beyond the geographical constraints and the urban model of the past. For example, the Cape Flats – a sandy and hostile area to the south east – were used to host coloured and black townships. The dominant spatial patterns which distinguished the city become urban sprawl/low density pattern of urban development, fragmentation and separation. In other words, the urban model was replaced with the suburban one.

According to Dewar *et al.* (2012, 2-4) some aspects can be listed to frame the urban tenets of modernism applied in Cape Town:

- the idea of separation to reduce conflict (the concept was extended from land-use – functional zoning – to include separation of race)
- the idea of freedom through technology (emphasis on the motor car and new developments at very long distances from the city centre)
- individual free-standing buildings as the basic building block (moving the focus from public to private space; one of the consequences was sterility and low density of new developments)
- conscious de-emphasis on the structural and spatial role of the street
- belief in industrialization
- a comprehensive approach to planning
- the neighbourhood unit (orientation of cell inward, exacerbating separation)
- the idea of suburbia as the *good life* for all

Additionally, the planning described above resulted in an enormous amount of movement at great cost. Costs and time¹⁵⁰ used by residents to move for job

¹⁴⁹ Data source: National Geo-spatial Information (NGI) Department. (Retrieved by NGI office March 3, 2016). Cape Town development is shown composing 1:50’000 maps (3318CD+3318DC+3418AB&AD+3418BA).

¹⁵⁰ “Many of the poor still have to pay more than 10 per cent of their income on transport” (Turok 2001, 2352). “Distance from employment centres means that commuters average two hours and forty minutes daily and spent 11 per cent of income on travel” (Smith 2001, 132). Today it is

opportunities to the city centre or to other parts of the city was extremely high, clearly demonstrated in the diagram by Turok showing the persistent polarization of Cape Town. Arrows of movement demonstrate that Cape Flats are essentially dormitory suburbs and people living in these disadvantaged areas have very few job opportunities compared to the amount of population residing there. Greater job opportunities are concentrated in the CBD and along the southern and northern corridor of development.

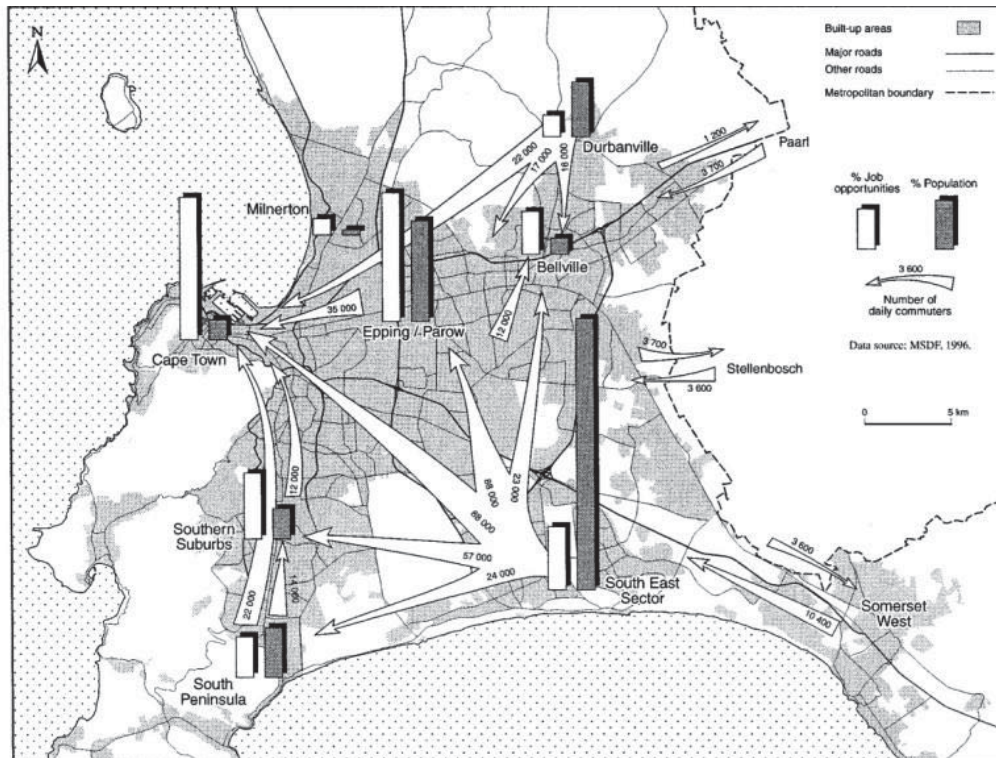


Fig. 19: Mismatch between places of work and residence, by I. Turok, 2001¹⁵¹

According to many contemporary scholars¹⁵², this structure and form of settlement still contributes directly to the severe development problems of Cape Town. Moreover, the urban pattern used during apartheid did not significantly change in the post-apartheid period, as it will be analysed in the chapter 4.2.

still considered common to wake up at 5 am to go to work in the City Centre and to come back late in the evening. The cost of these commuting weight not only to the commuters' shoulders, but to the family members, especially on the young ones. Safety issues are also linked with this topic (Interviews 2017).

¹⁵¹ (Turok 2001, 2353)

¹⁵² According to author's interviews and conversation with scholars and professionals like David Dewar, Edgar Pieterse, Susan Parnell, Stella Papanicolau, Jackie James, Heinrich Wolff...



Fig. 20: Cape Town in 1941-1942, map by M. Bodino, 2017¹⁵³

¹⁵³ Data source: National Geo-spatial Information (NGI) Department.



Fig. 21: Cape Town in 1958-1962, map by M. Bodino, 2017¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁴ Data source: National Geo-spatial Information (NGI) Department.



Fig. 22: Cape Town in 1983, map by M. Bodino, 2017¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁵ Data source: National Geo-spatial Information (NGI) Department.



Fig. 23: Cape Town in 1992-1995, map by M. Bodino, 2017¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁶ Data source: National Geo-spatial Information (NGI) Department.



Fig. 24: Cape Town in 2000, map by M. Bodino, 2017¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁷ Data source: National Geo-spatial Information (NGI) Department.



Fig. 25: Cape Town in 2010, map by M. Bodino, 2017¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁸ Data source: National Geo-spatial Information (NGI) Department.

4.1.3 The peculiarities of Cape Town

“Cape Town is emblematic of the challenges of all South African cities. Its unique topography – being ensconced between two mountain ranges and two oceans – renders the racialized division more starkly” (INTI 2016, 16-17). Moreover, Cape Town is considered a peculiar case in terms of race composition compared to other South African cities: the Coloured percentage represent 42.4% of the total Cape Town population, while in the rest of the country the Coloured percentage is 9.8%¹⁵⁹. “The racial distinction existed since the first moment of colonization, even if many authors recognise the relatively *mix* of some Cape Town neighbourhood [...]. From 1948, the racial policies have been implemented and became increasingly severe [in particular against Africans]. Hence, the major noticeable result of the Group Areas Act has been the great demolition of existing neighbourhoods or portion of urban areas – mainly located in the inner city and in well-located districts – to host the new *white-only* areas. The consequent evictions of local residents have been remedied by planning and building of townships divided by racial groups” (Bodino 2016, 338).

The most famous example of forced removals is the District Six one (Mceachern 1998): Figure 26. “District Six is an inner-city suburb [...], formally recognized in the late 1800s. It was a heterogeneous, religiously and racially mixed area (White, Coloured and African working-class people) with a vibrant cosmopolitan community. This unique multicultural quality made it a target for the apartheid policies applied by the National Party. The notorious Group Areas Act in 1966 defined the district as *white-only*, imposing its destruction. By 1982, the entire area where around 60’000 people were living was physically destroyed. Many were relocated in the townships out of the Cape Flats, divided by race. The consequence of this forced removals left the mark not only in previous inhabitants’ lives, but also in the creativity and vital energy of the city centre. The area has become the symbol of the dislocation and harmed caused by the Group Areas Act. [The area] is still a contested zone and it has just been partially urbanized” (Bodino 2017, 72-73).

¹⁵⁹ “Because Cape Town is far from the nearest bantustan, it has very particular conditions unlike the rest of South Africa. It is also the first area to be settled by whites. It has no minerals and for all these reasons its history and conditions are different” (Surplus Peoples Project 1984, 8-10). Cape Town race division: 42.4% Coloured, 38.6% Black African, 15.7% White, 1.4% Indian/Asian and 1.9% other. South African race division: 79.2% Black African, 8.9% White, 9.8% Coloured, 2.5% Indian/Asian and 0.5% other.

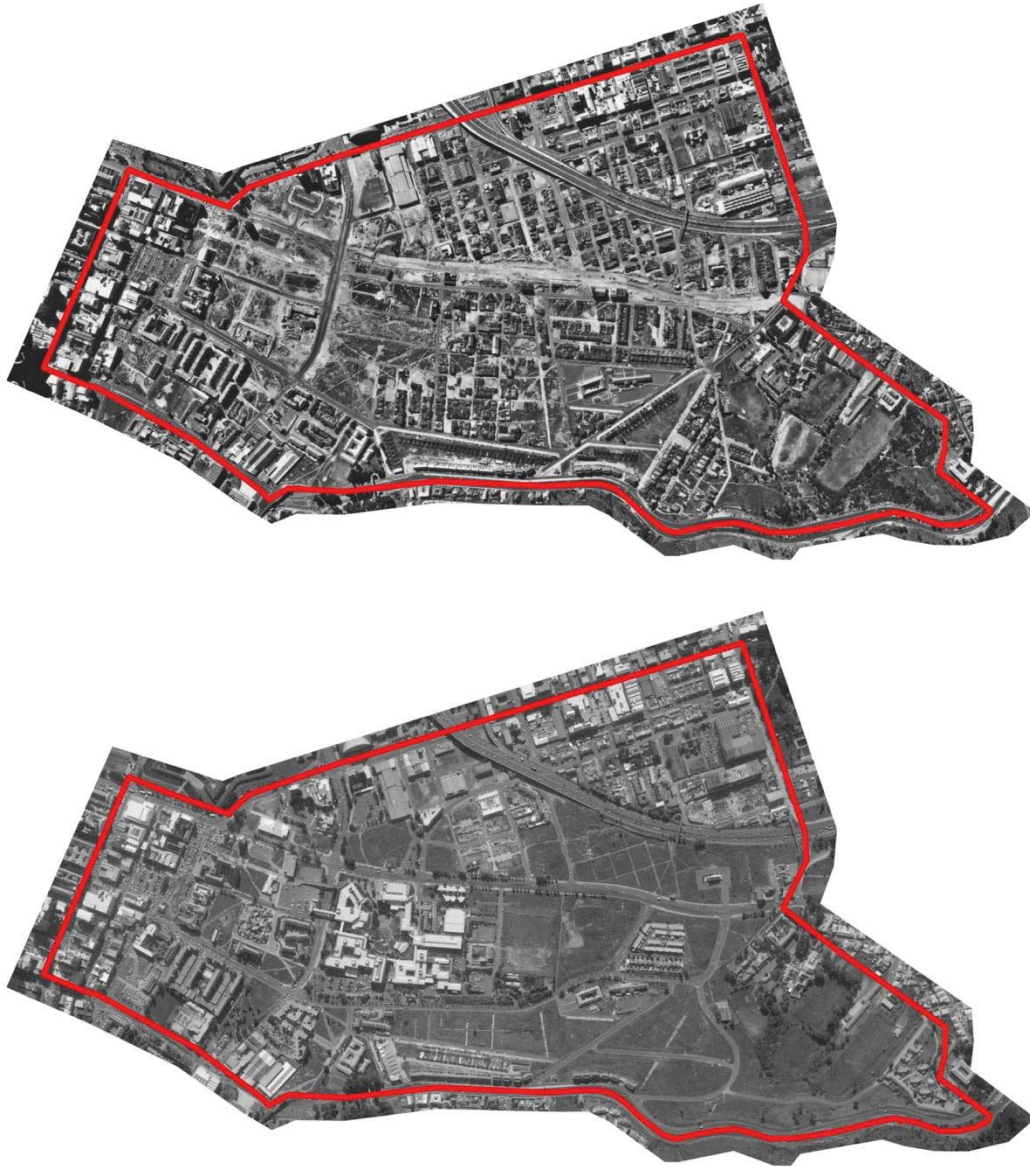


Fig. 26: District Six forced removals: aerial photos 1980-2008¹⁶⁰

In 1955, two other decisions exacerbated Black Africans situation: Coloured Labour Preference Policy (CLPP) and proposal of the *Eiselen line*. Firstly, the CLPP formalised a differentiated scale of racial privilege, which influenced enormously the migration flows in town¹⁶¹. In fact, “jobs were allocated firstly to those categorised as *white*, then those classified as *coloured*, and only in instances of what were seen as labour shortages to *natives*, [...] employed as migrant

¹⁶⁰ District Six aerial views by NGI, then composed by Bodino, 2019. Data source: National Geo-spatial Information (NGI) Department (retrieved by NGI office March 3, 2016).

¹⁶¹ At least until 1984 when the Coloured Labour Preference policy was abolished (INTI 2016, 17).

labourers” (Murray 2014, 6) and residing in labour man-only hostels¹⁶². Therefore, “the purpose of this policy was to strictly regulate the influx of Africans into urban areas, especially Cape Town, to ensure that Whites and Coloureds [...] preferential access to the labour market” (Pieterse 2006, 219). Secondly, the “*Eiselen line* [...] became operative in 1962 and splits the region into two parts. To the north-east lay the rural poverty of the present-day Easter Cape; to the south-west lay the commercial hub of Cape Town and its affluent surrounds” (Conyngham et al. 2016, 4). The *Eiselen line* objective was to limit the number of Black Africans workers in the Western Province. As a consequence, Black Africans were considered *sojourners*, allowed to live and work in Cape Town in accordance with their work and accommodation permit; and residing and using only the urban areas designed for them or occupying informal settlements¹⁶³.

Today, CoCT has many challenges to face: high levels of poverty, unemployment and inequality; high levels of informality in economy and in housing; environmental degradation; food insecurity; water shortages¹⁶⁴. According to statistical data¹⁶⁵, some relevant urban traits of the CoCT¹⁶⁶ include:

- 3,740,026 people (29,3 % higher than 2001 census)
- 1,068,573 households (129.819 informal structures)
- 78.2% formal dwellings
- 35.7% of households below the poverty line (less than 3,5000 Rands)
- 24.8% young population
- race division: 42.4% Coloured¹⁶⁷, 38.6% Black African, 15.7% White, 1.4% Indian/Asian and 1.9% other
- main languages: 34.9% Afrikaans, 29.2% IsiXhosa, 27.8% English
- density: 1,530 persons/km²
- education: 15.6% completed secondary, 3.7% higher education

¹⁶² The 8th February 2016 the author visited the *Lwandle migrant labour museum*, located about 40 km away from Cape Town city centre. The book by Murray (2014) describes the creation of the first township museum in the Western Cape.

¹⁶³ Many of the Black African were illegal and therefore could not access to the legal housing market. Informal settlements – although discriminated and persecuted – were the only possible alternative.

¹⁶⁴ The year 2018 has been particularly significant in the water shortage crisis in Cape Town. See the following article to know more about Cape Town drought: <https://www.ft.com/content/b9bac89a-4a49-11e8-8ee8-cae73aab7ccb> (retrieved September 21, 2018).

¹⁶⁵ http://www.statssa.gov.za/?page_id=1021&id=city-of-cape-town-municipality, referred to the last census (2011). Retrieved February 7, 2017. Other consulted documents: City of Cape Town 2012.

¹⁶⁶ Official data are reported, but it has to be considered that some local NGOs and community organizations state that some of these data are incomplete or not accurate. Anyway, those numbers are absolutely relevant to provide an order of magnitude.

¹⁶⁷ “Cape Town had a disproportionate share of so-called mixed race or Coloured population compared to the rest of the country” (INTI 2016, 17): 42.4% compared to 9.8% of national share.

- 23.9% unemployment rate (31.9 % youth unemployment)
- 88.2% flush toilet connected to sewerage
- 75% piped water inside dwelling
- increasing crime rate (murder, sexual crime, common assault, robbery, drug-related crime)

Reading *the state of Cape Town report 2016*¹⁶⁸, it seems that the situation is slowly improving. At the same time, it is clear that the provision of basic services is treated as the solution to poverty reduction. Equity, inclusion and integration are common words in the Cape Town agenda but it is clear from the report¹⁶⁹ that only the symptoms of poverty are treated. The causes of poverty are considered external or simply outside political control (see chapter 3.2.3 on the cause-effect approach). However, some relevant information can be extracted by combining the last census data and the spatial development of CoCT. The density of Cape Town is of 1,530 people/km². It is very low compared to other big city around the world¹⁷⁰ (Pieterse 2010), and its main cause has been the extremely sprawled and low-density urban development promoted during and after apartheid. However, the most interesting information about density is the socio-spatial inequality of its distribution that “originated under apartheid, but has been reinforced by widening income inequalities and rural-urban migration” (Turok *et al.* 2010, 2295). Figure 27 shows that CBD, south and north-east corridors of development have quite low densities while density is even five time higher in the most recent development of the Cape Flats. From the race distribution map (Figure 28¹⁷¹) the legacy of apartheid is still clearly visible, especially in township areas far away from the city centre. The colour spots with defined contours mirror a contemporary Cape Town in which the legacy of apartheid still deeply affects spatial segregation. Nevertheless, it is also possible to observe a racial desegregation of middle-class, formerly *white-only* neighbourhoods¹⁷². Moreover, “the extent of interracial contact has increased slowly over the past decade, although this contact varies by race, employment status and occupation” (Crankshaw 2017, 97).

¹⁶⁸ The 2016 edition is the sixth, following on similar reports produced in 2006, 2008, 2010, 2012 and 2014. The report is designed to provide an overview of the city’s development status at a particular point in time by giving an updated snapshot of the most pertinent issues influencing the state of Cape Town. <http://maiteid.co.za/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/State-of-Cape-Town-Report-2016.pdf>, retrieved March 29, 2017.

¹⁶⁹ And also from author’s interviews with main stakeholders (scholars and CoCT people).

¹⁷⁰ In the introduction of the book some population densities are displayed. For example, Mexico City (5’950 people/km²), New York (9’600 people/km²), London (4’800 people/km²), Mumbai (32’814 people/km²), Hong Kong (6’588 people/km²), Curitiba (7’658 people/km²).

¹⁷¹ The CoCT is represented composing the 2010 map by NGI and the dot distribution map by Adrian Frith based on 2011 census (<https://dotmap.adrianfrith.com> and <https://adrianfrith.com/dot-maps-2001/> retrieved June 9, 2017).

¹⁷² About the rise of the black middle class see Southall (2016).



Fig. 27: CoCT density distribution (2011), by M. Bodino, 2017¹⁷³

¹⁷³ Data source: map created by composing the NGI Department map and the dot distribution map by Adrian Frith.

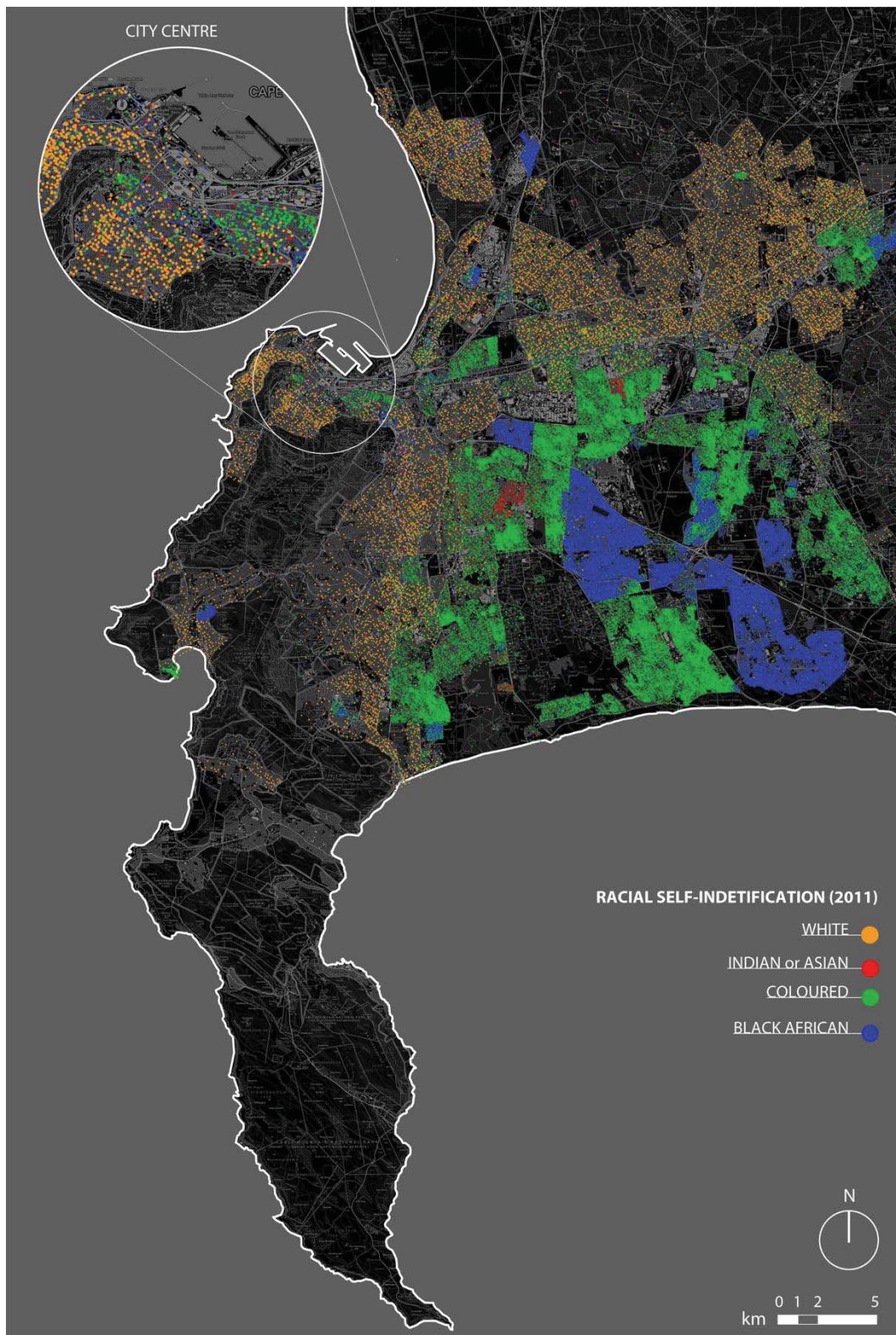


Fig. 28: CoCT race distribution (2011), by M. Bodino, 2017¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁴ Data source: map created by composing the NGI Department map and the dot distribution map by Adrian Frith.

4.1.4 Housing focus: a political interest

In South Africa, housing has been one of the major instruments of segregation and inequality. Directly (through apartheid) or indirectly (through housing policies aiming to solve the lack of housing). The provision of dwellings has profoundly affected the urban organization: from urban to suburban.

In the previous paragraphs, it has been described that the dominant spatial patterns of Cape Town after the Second World War have been urban sprawl, fragmentation and separation. The origin of these spatial patterns arguably begins with the creation of racial townships – later reiterated in the post-apartheid period. In the following sections, township spatial patterns and housing delivery after 1994 will be described. While the modern *garden city* idea was intended to provide a positive green urban environment within the city and was intended as a self-contained community; the township main objective has been to build housing for the growing working-class in support of the wealthy class. In order to maintain control and security for the privileged class, Coloured and African have been forcibly removed from the city centre – defined as *white-only* areas – towards peripheral townships¹⁷⁵. Townships were promoted as new towns. On the contrary, their spatial features demonstrate their absence of urbanity (Figure 29).

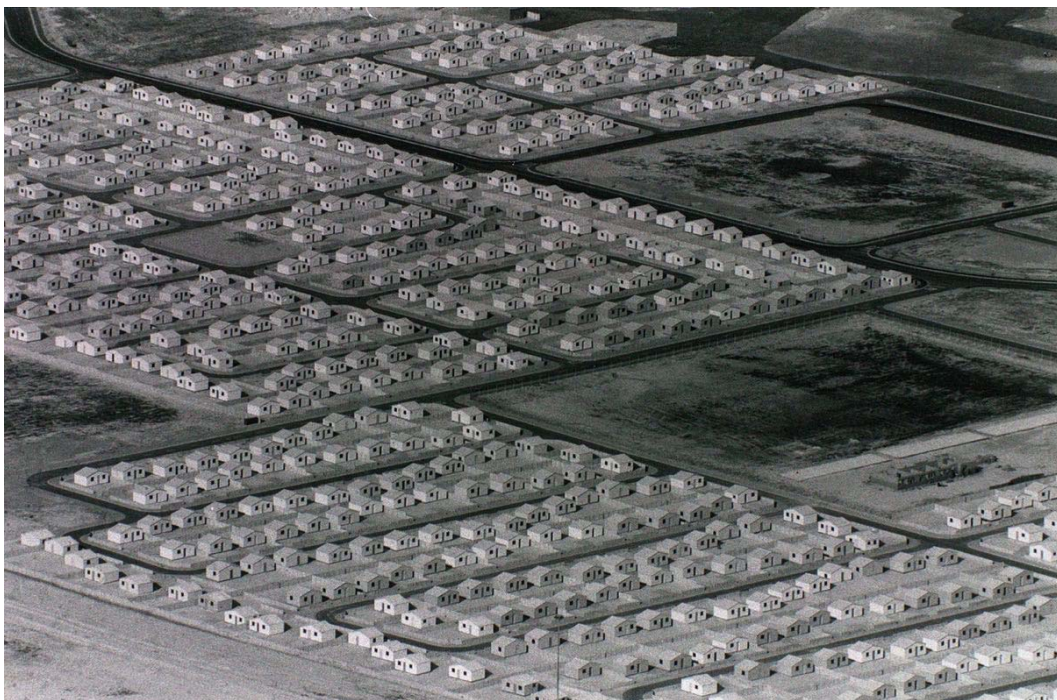


Fig. 29: Aerial photo of Khayelitsha township in Cape Town, 1985¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁵ Up to 30 km away in the case of the Black township of Khayelitsha.

¹⁷⁶ This photo has been consulted in the Independent Media Photographic Archive – *SI5D*, *Khayelitsha File 3, 1989-1992* (Special Collections Library, UCT, all rights reserved). Aerial photo of Khayelitsha, August 29, 1985.

Photos of townships “clearly reveal the sprawling, non-differentiated blanket of housing; the lack of integration between dwellings and streets pace; the total lack of concern of urban space, and residual space waiting to receive (if they ever do receive) community facilities. The overall impact is one of sterility and fragmentation” (Dewar and Todeschini 2004, 25). Modernism has been applied in the repetition of *one plot one house* scheme, exacerbating the sprawl. The kind of development promoted consisted of a low-dense single-storey settlement. The needed density – of people, activity and opportunity – to promote urbanity and sense of urban life was not taken into account. Environmentally, it would be much more efficient to fill the gap within the city border instead of dig sandy distant lands. The township premises collided with the idea of new town or satellite city since it does was aiming at solving the socio-economic and environmental problems of its metropolis. On the contrary, it has “the effect of aggravating precisely those problems” (Dewar and Watson 1984, 25). Low-income new towns in Cape Town “clearly reveal the degree of acceptance of the main tenets of the modernist model: a sprawling anti-city ethos dominated by the freestanding house on its own plot; a programmatic (a mechanistic assembly of parts) approach to planning; the concept of neighbourhood cells; and the dominance afforded the motor car which is the primary scaling element” (Dewar 2004, 13).

The end of apartheid brought political and theoretical innovations, but the housing backlog remains a huge problem to face. Housing has been interpreted as the litmus test of the new South Africa. In fact, the housing policy is considered, up until today, the core of national policy, the solution to South African problems. That is evident in analysing and reviewing political discourses and national policies. However, the implementation of housing policy in the post-apartheid period resulted to be unsuccessful since it focuses on the issue of delivery of housing as private objects, without considering the causes and the public realm. According to the author, it represents the major failure of national government. Several researches quoted in this chapter focused on evaluating critical aspects of South African housing policies. Prof. Iain Low¹⁷⁷ underlined the bureaucratic approach of the South African government in post-apartheid, which attempts “to maximise delivery [promoting] a quantitative approach” (Bruyns and Graafland 2012, 167). The housing agenda after 1994 went along with the recognition of the issue of informal settlement, whose solution has been interpreted by ANC with the provision of formal housing through serviced sites and subsidisation (Cirolia *et al.* 2016, 36-44).

The core of South African housing policy in post-apartheid lies in the *Bill of rights*¹⁷⁸ of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa that affirm these

¹⁷⁷ Professor at UCT. The author met him during the first sojourn in CoCT: March 16, 2016.

¹⁷⁸ The *Bill of rights* is based on the *Freedom charter* (1955) whose objective was to promote a non-racial South Africa. The document includes many aspects, and about housing it claims: “All

commitments: “1) Everyone has the right to have access to adequate housing. 2) The state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realisation of this right. 3) No one may be evicted from their home, or have their home demolished [...]. No legislation may permit arbitrary evictions”¹⁷⁹. On one hand, being part of the Constitution and being promulgated by ANC¹⁸⁰, housing delivery became an important political priority: provision of free or subsidised house is the prime manifesto since 1994. The provision of housing became more important than understanding the meaning of *adequate housing*. On the other hand, housing policy has created a culture of entitlement, an attachment to *rights* in general which reproduce the narrative of aid instead of promoting and enhancing the proactive approach.

The evolution of national housing policies of the last three decades have been summarised in a diagram by South African Cities Network – SANC (Figure 30).

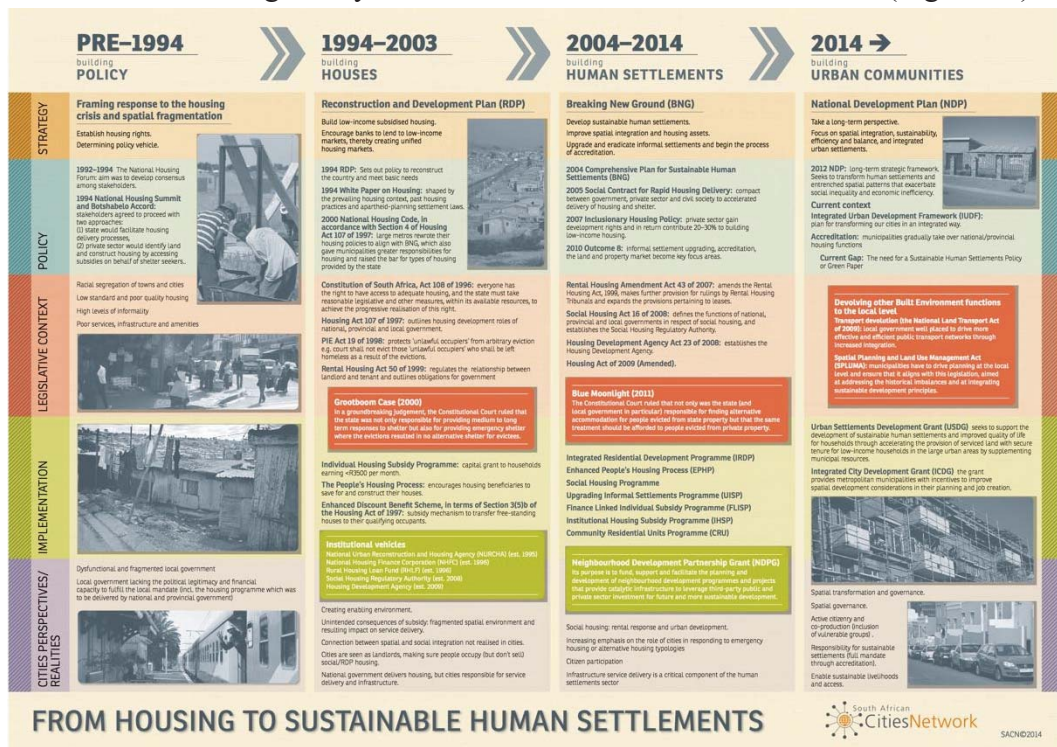


Fig. 30: From housing to sustainable settlement, SACN 2014¹⁸¹

people shall have the right to live where they choose, to be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security. Unused housing space to be made available to the people”. This part of the document contrasts clearly with the Group Areas Act in force since 1950. http://www.historicalpapers.wits.ac.za/inventories/inv_pdf/AD1137/AD1137-Ea6-1-001-jpeg.pdf (retrieved June 29, 2017).

¹⁷⁹ Constitution of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996, chapter 2, paragraph 26.

¹⁸⁰ ANC is the ruling and dominant political party at the national level.

¹⁸¹ South African Cities Network (SACN). <http://sacitiesnetwork.co.za/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/From-Housing-to-Human-Settlements-Timeline-2.pdf>, retrieved May 16, 2017. For additional information please refer to the following publication: South African Cities Network, *From housing to sustainable settlement. Evolving perspective*. August 2014. Retrieved

This graph represents the ambition to respond to the growing housing crisis of the 1990s, and show the attempt to move from a quantitative approach to a more sustainable approach. Prof. Low claimed that the first attempt of ANC to compensate the injustice of the past has been to maximize the delivery of housing through the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) whose objective was to build low-income subsidized housing. According to SANC, RDP programme last from 1994 to 2003. “The Department of Housing reduced [again] the *housing problem* to the so-called *1 plot 1 house 1 family* solution, thereby privileging the private realm at the expense of the public. The result has been the production of monotonous environments, located mainly on the urban periphery [in which the] social fabric has been neglected” (Bruyns and Graafland 2012, 167). The above-mentioned definition recalls the alienated environment of the apartheid township patterns¹⁸². As a consequence, in a short while, it was clear that “the efforts by democratic government to effect redistribution since 1994 has inadvertently worsened spatial divisions and inequality. The policy priority was to provide 2.3 million households who did not have adequate shelter with a formal house, basic services and a title deed. The spear point of this policy is the RDP Housing programme that guarantees all households below a predetermined income threshold¹⁸³ the right to a free public house including the title deed”. The only way in which this programme could be implemented was “through the purchasing of large tracts of cheap land, typically at the edges of cities and towns. The spatial effect of this is that class and social segregation intensified, the poorest are furthest away from economic opportunities, and the extremely sprawled and low-density urban form associated with apartheid modernism become more entrenched; with disastrous ecological consequences. A diagnostic to this effect was articulated in the government’s Breaking New Ground (BNG) policy framework of 2004, but without leading to an exit from the free public housing approach” (INTI 2016, 20-21). The model used in South Africa reflects the World bank one. “The main difference was that whereas the World Bank advocates to use the capital subsidies for infrastructure only, the South African housing capital subsidy was explicitly also for *starter houses*”. Moreover, the focus has been “on physical delivery, with insufficient social and economic interventions” (Cirolia *et al.* 2016, 38). Also, rollover upgrading has been preferred to in situ upgrading, with great displacement of people. The large-scale delivery of RDP houses from

June 29, 2017. [http://sacitiesnetwork.co.za/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/1968 SACN From Housing to Human Settlements Web.pdf](http://sacitiesnetwork.co.za/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/1968_SACN_From_Housing_to_Human_Settlements_Web.pdf).

¹⁸² In fact, the provision of huge numbers of houses depended on a mass housing scheme. Large parcels of cheap land are needed for the implementation of this scheme, which as a consequence reiterates peripheral locations. Large developers and short profit margins normally produce poor quality of the buildings and requires uniformity and standardization (Dewar).

¹⁸³ People get a free house under R1,500. From R1,500 to R3,500 there is a sliding scale of subsidy.

the 1990s has not been enough to stop or reduce the growth of informal settlement. Firstly, state resources could not fulfil that gap, which potentially can keep growing. Secondly, it demonstrates that subsidy housing can help poor people but do not solve their poverty. The BNG approach (Figure 30) attempted to focus on informal settlement upgrading (Upgrading Informal Settlement Programme – UISP), even if “there continued to be strong political attachment to the eradication and relocation of informal settlements” (Cirolia *et al.* 2016, 40). In parallel, the Department of Housing in 2009 replaced its name with Human Settlement Department demonstrating a shift of approach “from a narrow conceptualization (*housing*) to a more holistic framing (*human settlement*)” (SANC 2014, 3). BNG attempted to take into account more complex dimensions of human existence and interpret sustainability in economic and social terms (Bruyns and Graafland 2012, 168). The National Development Plan – showed in the SACN diagram as the current policy on housing – offers a long-term perspective. Actually, it does not specifically focus on the housing issue, even if it refers to it implicitly in the Integrated Urban Development.

Nevertheless, policy and reality seem to travel on parallel tracks. That is demonstrated by the introduction of the Slum Act in 2007¹⁸⁴ when the Minister of Housing, “Lindiwe Sisulu had declared that by 2014 all informal settlements in South Africa would be abolished and replaced by formal settlements. This seems to have been later modified to a strategy of upgrading. However, whatever the approach, the fact is that, currently, the South African local, provincial and national government sectors’ housing delivery is unsustainable. Housing delivery simply cannot maintain a steady pace to eradicate the existing housing backlogs, let alone solve the rapid urban influx” (Bruyns and Graafland 2012, 66-67). The declaration by Mrs. Sisulu proves, once again, a simplified observation of reality without an understanding of its causes: informality is considered as the problem of the poor, then formality is exhibited as the solution of poverty. This represents another promise that the government cannot honour, together with the promise of a free house.

Since the end of apartheid, housing have embodied the symbol of democracy and it has been a “commitment renewed every electoral cycle. [...] Nonetheless, for the majority of citizens, this right to access housing translates in practice to the experience of waiting. Enabled through the socioeconomic rights specified in the Constitution, waiting for the state is both normalised and legitimate” (Oldfield and Greyling 2015, 1100). The housing databases – colloquially known as *waiting lists*¹⁸⁵ – in which people are registered can last years or even decades. Moreover,

¹⁸⁴ For more information refer to the chapter *South African’s drive to eradicate informal settlement by 2014* (Huchzermeyer 2011, 112-140).

¹⁸⁵ “A waiting list is a register (or part of a register) usually arranged in date order from oldest to most recent registration date” (Tissington *et al.* 2013).

housing demand capture (through database) and allocation is a complex and contradictory topic. “There is an overlap between national and provincial policies and systems” (Tissington et al. 2013, 25). And also, “while demand databases and allocation policies exist at national and provincial level, it is at municipal level¹⁸⁶ that policies are implemented” (Tissington et al. 2013, 62). The micropolitics and the role of waiting within this complex system are evaluated by Oldfield and Greyling, who argue that waiting means not only find a shelter in the meanwhile – translated often in informal solution and backyard shack – but also generate a politics of encounter between citizen and the state. “Waiting is legitimate, yet also contentious, embedded in a contradictory mix of expectation of and demands on the state, bound up in experiences of hope and despair.” (Oldfield and Greyling 2015, 1109). The timing of this waiting process, the consequent *permanent temporariness*¹⁸⁷, the process of aid dependency is not only translated in a micropolitics of waiting but also in a limited relation and investment with the urban space of the *limbo*, which could last decades. Additionally, the distribution of benefits is profoundly unfair since it relates to time and needs, which are linked to race and then could intensify racial tensions. For example, under apartheid “in Cape Town context, [...] coloured had the right to be on neighbourhood waiting lists in the segregated group areas. Those families categorized as african, in the majority where excluded for any access” (Oldfield and Greyling 2015, 1106). In fact, “during apartheid a range of housing lists were drawn up, so after 1994 many people were already registered on one or more list, and municipalities and provinces attempted to merge lists and create consolidated databases of people waiting for houses” (Tissington et al. 2013, 25). In the meanwhile, the allocation of housing has changed, trying to propose a more fair and rational system. “Ultimately, even on the official version, there simply is no housing waiting list in the sense that it is widely understood by the public, as well as by many politicians and government officials.” (Tissington et al. 2013, 81). “Housing allocation instead responds to a variety of indices in the database, such as income, the applicant’s housing-area preference, the location and *catchment* for a housing project itself; only then is the applicant’s time spent waiting for housing taken into account” (Oldfield and Greyling 2015, 1107). However, the common perception is still linked to the *first come first served basis* of the waiting lists. In conclusion, the process of housing allocation is not transparent, worsening the perception of

¹⁸⁶ About specific information on the Western Cape and on the City of Cape Town housing database and allocation policy see Tissington *et al.* 2013, 45-46: “The Greater Cape Town region historically had a housing *database* which was developed through the integration of the various waiting lists of the former Cape Town municipalities”. (Tissington *et al.* 2013, 45)

¹⁸⁷ This concept is also used by Fabrizio Floris describing the Kukuma refugee camp, in which 86’000 people live in a condition of *transitorietà permanente* (Floris 2007, 102-103).

corruption and leading to enormous friction and individually-logical but anti-social behaviours¹⁸⁸.

It is also important to be noted that poor households accessing to a free house may be the same one that have been forcibly moved from their previous home during the apartheid period. Obtaining a subsidised house represents for many the only way to obtain a formal house; it could also mean to move away from social, economic relation built in the *permanent temporariness* time. In some cases, it could as well be translated into an illegal economic opportunity: renting or selling out the subsidized house to someone else¹⁸⁹ and live in a backyard shack can support the family in a new neighbourhood that often lacks job opportunities. This last example shows how the households may push themselves out of a formal condition in order to meet their economic needs. Therefore, it is possible to conclude that housing is a key issue in terms of right to the city and substantiation of citizenship, but its implementation through the concept of free/ highly subsidised house have not been effective in South Africa because it aims to provide solution for the concept of house as a formal shelter and not as home: a private shell for families living in the city. This thesis states that a shift should happen moving the focus from the provision of formal housing (that people can built with their capabilities or rent) to the provision of spatial structures that people cannot build by themselves. This means to recognize the value of existing informal settlements and to focus on utilities and on improvement of public realm.

To conclude, the political framework adjusted its terminology and broadened its focus (as showed clearly by the SANC diagram); whereas its implementation became less specific and then less effective. In other words, the theoretical paradigm shift happened at the policy level, but has not been implemented or applied contextually. On the contrary, the national government promised a free house for poorest South Africans that have no chance to be fulfilled. The system was unsustainable at the time of RDP and the expansion of its targets with BNG did not help to find a sustainable solution. While the housing backlogs keep growing, the political suicide to retreat is closer and closer. Actually, admitting the failure and stopping the repetition off segregation pattern can be considered as the only way to start restructuring the city for real. On the contrary, keeping this focus as the political manifesto has significant and negative consequences. In fact, the cost of delivering subsidised formal housing to the poor is not affordable for a

¹⁸⁸ An area which is particularly problematic (e.g. because of a recent fire/arson or because it is built on floodplain) can be subject to an upgrading project with new housing and therefore having people *jumping the queue* because of the sudden need of public intervention.

¹⁸⁹ "Once the house has been transferred to the beneficiary [...] these owners often pass on the houses quite quickly, even though they are by law not allowed to sell them within the first eight years of occupation" (Tissington *et al.* 2013, 68).

developing country like South Africa and not everyone can be satisfied¹⁹⁰. Despite this, a significant budget has been used every year to implement this policy, without taking into account the energy used by people to organize and built informality¹⁹¹. Furthermore, most of that money spent has not been effective since it is quite common that formal units are illegally rented or sold, reiterating the informal structure¹⁹². Housing issue is just a consequence of the socio-economic structure, not a cause of it. Therefore, “as long as low incomes and inequality remain a structural feature of the urban and economic landscape [...], and as long as the public sector continues to be unable or unwilling to help low-income households obtain housing of their own, there will continue to be a demand for low-cost shelter options” (Roy and Alsayyad 2004, 265). In South Africa, the housing focus simply represents a political interest: it allows the political class to pretend to deal with the real urban problems. With the promise of formality, they control informality, they collect electoral votes and they keep the unequal balance of power.

At the same time, some bottom-up initiatives are pushing local government to guarantee poor people’s rights in terms of “just equal access to allocated land”¹⁹³ through state intervention in the land market¹⁹⁴. According to author’s knowledge and referring to her direct experience in Cape Town¹⁹⁵, those interventions are still quite small, and they strictly depend on local protests and campaigns. Significant changes in the housing approach will happen when the state itself will include this approach within urban policies and will correctly implement them.

Few apolitical examples show innovative approaches to housing provision which has poor people as the hub. The first example has been introduced by the Victoria Mxenge Housing Project¹⁹⁶. It was born and developed in Cape Town in 1994, when a small group of 12 women initiated one of the first People’s Housing

¹⁹⁰ In this process, inequality is reproduced again choosing who is suitable and who is not, and this choice may cause resentments and even violence.

¹⁹¹ In De Soto book, *The mystery of capital*, what is relevant is a new picture of the third world, representing the poor as *heroic entrepreneurs*: “A truer imagine [of the third world] would depict a man and a woman who have painstakingly saved to construct a house for themselves and their children, and who are creating enterprises where nobody imagine they could built. [...] They are not the problem. They are the solution” (De Soto 2000, 34)

¹⁹² Assets turn to be *dead capital*, as defined by De Soto (2000) in the process of becoming informal again.

¹⁹³ Text extracted from the video of *Reclaim the city campaign*: <http://reclaimthecity.org.za/rtc-campaigns/> (retrieved January 23, 2019).

¹⁹⁴ For example, the movement *Reclaim the city (land for people, not for profit)* is one of them and it is based in Cape Town: <http://reclaimthecity.org.za>.

¹⁹⁵ In 2016 and in 2017.

¹⁹⁶ “Victoria Mxenge (VM) women learned to advocate for people-centre development and mobilise poor community to join them, and lobby the state for more resources and for a People’s Housing Process (PHP). The VM women shifted from self-help to movement activism and held leadership positions in the housing movements” (Ismail 2015, 58). “This programme was to support poor homeowners with technical, logistical, administrative and financial assistance” (Ismail 2015, 102).

Processes (PHP). PHP is used in South Africa to indicate a process which advocate for people-centre development. It aims to enable communities to actively contribute and participate in the housing development process. (Ismail 2015)¹⁹⁷. With their few means, these women have been able not only to save money and build their own houses, but also to negotiate with the state, to teach others, and to promote their initiative with local and international associations. This proposal remained a niche, but proved that an alternative approach to free housing provision is possible. Furthermore, housing is an area of experimentation for local and international architects who have been trying to provide different answers for the housing crisis. Another example is an innovative and sustainable technologic solution to public housing. It has been proposed in the *10x10 housing project* competition¹⁹⁸, which aimed to stimulate alternative solutions to housing. To reduce the cost of the public housing, an alternative and more affordable building method is designed. Instead of the traditional use of bricks and mortar system, walls are composed by “a timber structural frame combined with a sandbag construction as infill for the walls of the building” (Pieterse 2010, 165). This provides passive thermal and acoustic control, it is wind-resistant and it potentially can provide job opportunities (even for unskilled labour, including women). The double-storey scheme reduces the footprint increasing density and is designed to allow extensions according to what family could afford. This eco-beam and sand technology has also been used for public buildings in Cape Town¹⁹⁹, but this system remains as an alternative example rather than a standard method²⁰⁰. Moreover, incremental strategies for informal settlements upgrading have been investigated in the last decades demonstrating a growing interest in changing the current approach (Bosia 2015; Cirolia 2016 among many others). However, most of these reflections remains at the theoretical level, even if they may include examples of bottom-up approaches²⁰¹. At the same time, densification has been proposed as a cure for the segregated city (INTI 2016) even if guidelines and implementation rules of this concept are still not clear. The draft for *Cape Town Densification Strategy* (City of Cape Town 2009) has been the most relevant demonstration in facing the density problem in Cape Town. However, since then, there has been a “lack of political commitment required for the strategy” which brought very little results (INTA 2016, 46). In other words, it

¹⁹⁷ The history of the association, their challenges in in the informal learning process and in the evolution of the organization are described in the book. The author interviewed Salma Ismail in March 2016.

¹⁹⁸ “Design Indaba invited architects in 2007 to design ten low-cost houses on ten sites in partnership with ten international architects, for ten families in Mitchell’s Plain, Cape Town” (Pieterse 2010, 162). The winning project was by Luyanda Mpahlwa of MMA Architects.

¹⁹⁹ See Bodino 2016.

²⁰⁰ The architect Luyanda Mpahlwa admitted that “a large-scale project based on this design approach is not yet ready to be scaled up” (Pieterse 2016, 165).

²⁰¹ Generally promoted by local NGOs, CBOs, NPCs...

is missing the political and economic will to diversify the building industry and to move the political focus away from housing issue. This research states that housing need to be conceptualised in function of the urban space rather than the private space. With this different approach housing can become instrumental to the creation of public space. Without this shift in the frames of reference, spatial segregation of Cape Town will not be addressed.

4.2 The pursuit of (spatial) inclusion: post-1994 policies

The objective of the chapter 4.2 is to describe and evaluate post-1994 policies – other than the housing one described in chapter 4.1.4 – which can be related with the pursuit of inclusion. In particular, the focus will be on the search of spatial inclusion. On one hand, there has been a role of urbanism in exasperating the inequalities between rich and poor (Secchi, 2013). On the other hand, the reason why it is fundamental to examine post-apartheid policies is because the success or failure of a nation depends on economic and political institutions. Using Acemoglu and Robinson words, “fundamentally it is a political transformation [...] that is required for a poor society to become rich” (Acemoglu and Robinson 2012, 5). “Economic growth and prosperity are associated with inclusive economic and political institutions, while extractive institutions typically lead to stagnation and poverty” (Acemoglu and Robinson 2012, 91). Arguably, South Africa – as many other countries in the South – is leaded by extractive institutions, “which concentrate power in the hands of a few, who will then have incentives to maintain and develop extractive economic institutions for their benefit and use the resources they obtain to cement their hold on political power” (Acemoglu and Robinson 2012, 429). The search of inclusive spaces is linked to the search of inclusive economic institutions: “those that allow and encourage participation by the great mass of people in economic activities that make best use of their talents and skills and that enable individuals to make the choices they wish” (Acemoglu and Robinson 2012, 74).

This thesis treated the housing issue (chapter 4.1.4) precisely to demonstrate that the dominant housing policy approach in South Africa is leading the country to neglect alternative solutions which promote urban restructuring. Currently, some counter-current models propose to bring the attention back to liveable public realm to pursue inclusion²⁰² (Todeschini, Tomer, Dewar among others). This chapter is a demonstration that some small but relevant policies in Cape Town have attempted to bring public space to the centre of attention.

A timeline comparison of national and local politics, events and policies is useful to intersect data presented in this thesis. This timeline comparison – as shown in the Figure 31 – includes national and Cape Town’s politics as well as housing and public space policies. It demonstrates that attention to public space have been influenced by external and internal events. As reminded earlier, apartheid regime impacted powerfully in local organization of space, but also local change of government had some significant impact in the decisions of Cape Town. Politics and policies influence each other in time.

²⁰² “Except for some public housing for the very poor, national housing policy should shift away from state provision of houses to assistance and support in that regard, and should concentrate on what people themselves are unable to provide: a liveable public realm” (Todeschini 2015, 260).

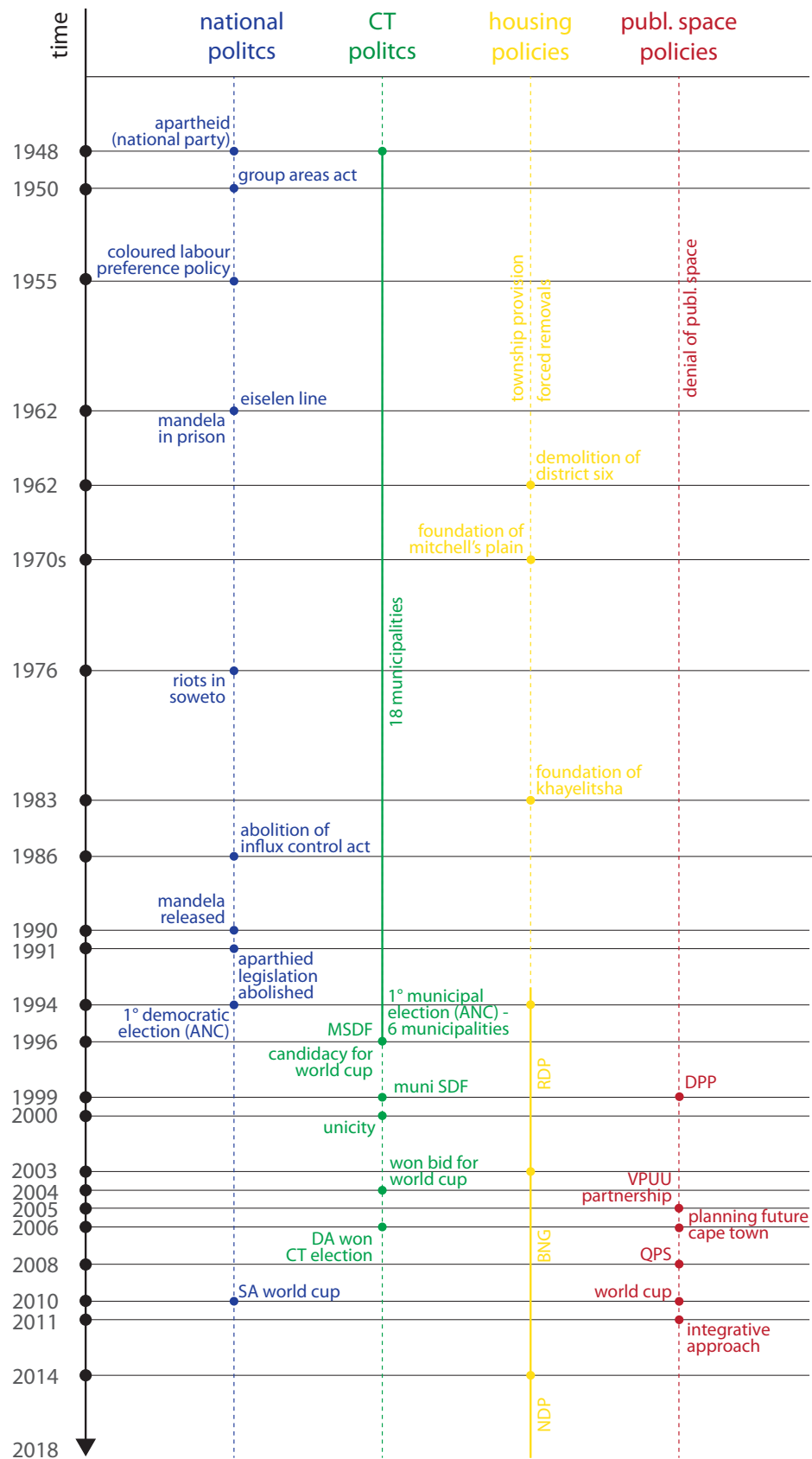


Fig. 31: Timeline of politics and policies, by M. Bodino, 2018

The timeline is relevant to understand the concertation of politics and policies in the post-apartheid which have attempt to create the new South Africa. Even if in this diagram the representation of each column is the same, in reality the first three columns had greater relevance and impact on the socio-economic and spatial organization of urban spaces compared to the last one. Although the last column may seem negligible, it is extremely relevant when proposing an alternative tool of urban restructuring. At the same time, without the comprehension of national and urban politics, it would be impossible to evaluate the innovation of the public space policies.

The ambition of this chapter is to clarify and review what has been done in terms of policies and implementation in the post-apartheid period. In particular, the focus is on the development of Cape Town, which is emblematic for South Africa. A review of the political decision of Cape Town is traced to set the context. Additionally, the experience of Cape Town can be useful in order to understand possible causes of segregation of a contemporary city. Chapter 4.2 focuses on two main reference sources shown in figure 31:

- Spatial Development Frameworks (SDFs, chapter 4.2.1)
- public space policies in Cape Town (chapter 4.2.2)

More generally, this chapter evaluates the national and local growing attention to public space, as a possible answer to restructure the apartheid city. What is relevant for this research is that public spaces have found a small place within the agenda-setting. It remains an underestimated issue, but is it already important that the lack and poor quality of public space have been framed somehow as a problem in the city. Nevertheless, this thesis shows that there is still a strong gap between theory and implementation, between policies and practice. Two interpretations can be traced. On one hand, theoretical references propose the city for all and rhetoric about public spaces. On the other hand, urban interventions contradict themselves looking at a different scale. In fact, at the urban scale great planning decisions preserve the historical unequal structure. Small specific interventions of urban design are instead too fragile to affect the urban pattern of separation, even if they are strategically chosen. They often have inclusive ambitions and references, but they have concrete limits of implementation. Even if policies are often all-embracing²⁰³, municipality of Cape Town mainly proceeded with incremental implementation because of scarcity of resources. In addition, even if structure, concepts and words used in international, South African, and also in Cape Town's policies seems to respond correctly to local problems, their

²⁰³ "Arguably, the spatial urban planning system in South Africa seeks to control far too much, with the result that the overall plan and the formal development that occurs are neither particularly resilient, nor sufficiently inventive, and yet the system generates massive continuing management costs" (Todeschini 2015, 246).

implementation often clashed with reality. The complexity of urban reality would assume policies to be able to address social-economic and spatial problem at the same time. Socio-economic issues are often pictured as problems not within the reach of local politics. As a consequence, they are often not included within spatial policies. According to the author, that is a political excuse to do not change the current situation of inequality, which benefits a small minority. In fact, what lacked – or partially lacked – in spatial policies has been continuity of programmes or implementation, evaluation and feedback-actions. The analysis of Cape Town's SDFs and public space policies shows the reader progresses, inconveniences and changes of post-apartheid approach. Hopefully, this evaluation may be useful for local government to observe their work from a different and counter-current point of view: the public space focus. At the same time, understanding the relationship between politics, policies and space may be important to trace new possibilities of intervention in South African and beyond.

Some innovative concepts have been promoted as progressive planning systems, as confirmed by Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act (SPLUMA)²⁰⁴. However, even if the planning system – the prescriptive one – has introduced new concept, most plans and practices remains essentially stuck with land use approach. Comparing the policies and interviewing stakeholders involved in different phases of the process (CoCT side, professionals, scholars...) have shown that planning principles are still defined through zoning and land use rules. In fact, the urban structure has not changed from 1994 because it is still strongly influenced by the urban land market. In a context of quasi neo-liberal economy which entrenches inequality a selective intervention in the land market may trigger a significant change in the urban pattern: residential patterns firstly, but also commercial ones.

Chapter 4 ends introducing the integrative approach (chapter 4.2.2.3) as a more inclusive methodology which will be evaluated analysing the VPUU programme and its major project in the township of Khayelitsha (chapter 5.3).

²⁰⁴ In fact, SPLUMA is also based on five normative principles which go beyond zoning approach: social justice, spatial sustainability, efficiency, spatial resilience and good administration. For more info see: Act n. 16 of 2013 (retrieved January 16, 2018). <http://www.customcontested.co.za/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/SPLUMA-Act-Booklet.pdf>.

4.2.1 Cape Town spatial development framework (SDF)

The concept of spatial development framework is quite new in South Africa, but it has become crucial in understanding the desired vision and growth trajectory for the post-apartheid city²⁰⁵. In the following paragraph the author will set the SDF context to avoid confusion of the term.

During the apartheid era, Cape Town consisted of about eighteen small municipalities²⁰⁶, whose borders strengthened the segregation and fragmentation of the apartheid model. The 1996 have seen the “first democratic *local* government election in Cape Town, forming the Cape Metropolitan Council and six municipalities” (Watson 2002, 155). While in 2000 the so-called Unicity was created, defining the border of the actual City of Cape Town (CoCT). In the same year, the Municipal System Act (Act 32 of 2000) has been promulgated, which is the most relevant legislation to understand the SDF²⁰⁷. The act contributes towards the realization of right contained in the Constitution. “Inter alia, the Municipal Systems requires all municipalities to produce an Integrated Development Plan (IDP) for their area of jurisdiction” (Dewar et al. 2012, 12). As a consequence, between 2001 and 2002 – for the first time – a five-year year plan for the whole city has been created under the name of IDP²⁰⁸. One of the core component of an IDP is “a Spatial Development Framework which must include the basic guidelines for a land use management system for the municipality, [...] it provides a framework for co-ordination of government departments, co-ordination across time and space” (Dewar et al. 2012, 13). The design of SDF is linked to budget and deals mainly on the provisions of infrastructure. One of the instrument to implement the SDF is land management (zoning). Since 2002, IDPs have been important to set common goals, and define mayoral projects. Nevertheless, the integration proposed by the name itself is not fully developed within the document²⁰⁹. In fact, according to Dewar *et al.*, one problem of Integrated Development Plans (IDP) is that the focus of spatial frameworks remained on land use zoning and not on capital investment (2012, 15).

²⁰⁵ “A Spatial Development Framework constitutes the future spatial plan for the province or municipality. It maps out a desired vision and growth trajectory and it considers the main elements of public structure [...] in relationship to each other. In effect, it defines the emerging *capital web* (or capital infrastructure) of the municipality or province” (Dewar et al. 2012, 14).

²⁰⁶ Email correspondence with Cedric Daniels – manager at the Urban Design Department at City of Cape Town, April 11, 2016

²⁰⁷ The author need to thank Prof. David Dewar for informing her about the Municipal System Act.

²⁰⁸ The document *Interim IDP 2001/02. At the beginning of the transformation* is available on loan at the UCT Government publication department library (all right reserved).

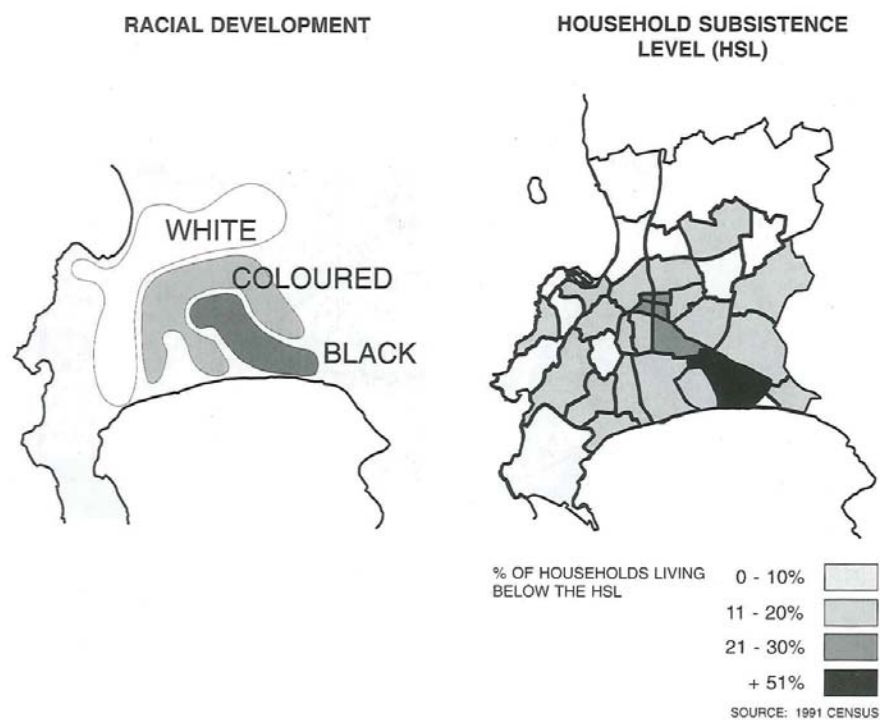
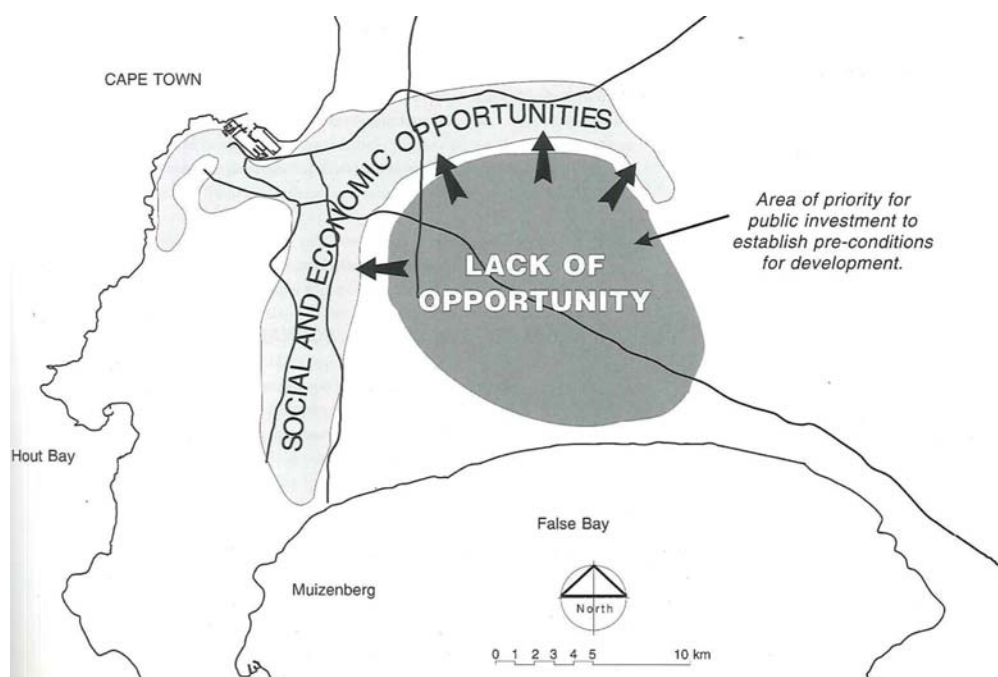
²⁰⁹ “The Cape Town’s IDP has essentially remained a folder of independently framed sector documents, reflecting different positions within the organisation. These are then packaged under catch-all vision statements and themes. Actual resource allocation largely reflects past budget allocations” (Boshoff 2007).

In Cape Town, SDFs have been conceived even before the 2000: before the Unicity and before the Act 32 of 2000. Indeed, the four years between 1996 and 2000 represented a crucial and innovative moment. In 1996 the Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework (MSDF) was launched showing for the first time a vision for the whole metropolitan area – the *inner metropolitan region* (Cape Metropolitan Council 1996). The same urban area has been considered in the Municipal Spatial Development Framework (Muni SDF) in 1999 (City of Cape Town, 1999). The consideration of the greater urban area in both frameworks represents the first important shift towards the “urban reconstruction, considered as a priority in the post-apartheid period” (Behrens and Watson 1996). The Spatial Development Frameworks are not prescriptive, even if they should directly inform budgets: SDF “should inform public and private investment decisions and represent the different, and sometimes contested, spatial implications of the physical, social and economic and environmental sectors”²¹⁰. Therefore, they had a significant importance in tracing new perspectives, in showing the local interpretations of urban space, and in proposing solutions to improve it.

4.2.1.1 Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework (MSDF)

“The main purpose of the MSDF was to provide a framework to guide the form and location of physical development [and investment] at a metropolitan scale [...]. Growth and development were considered as vital to address the historical legacy of under-development [as well as defining implementation strategies for] a change in planning priorities, exemplified by the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)” (Cape Metropolitan Council 1996, 3). The deliberately schematic and conceptual maps attached (Figures 32-33) have the power to display an evident racial inequality development, with *lack of opportunities*’ area corresponding with disadvantages communities’ areas. The existing pattern of spatial development correspond to coloured and black townships where the Households Subsistence Level is low. Therefore, public investment priority – according to the SDF – should be concentrated in this area, where social and economic opportunities are weak. To the author knowledge, this can be considered as one of the first map clearly showing the spatial disparity linked with racial development produced by the public authority (the municipality in this case).

²¹⁰ This definition has been extracted from the latest SDF document: introduction, page 1: http://resource.capetown.gov.za/documentcentre/Documents/City%20strategies%2C%20plans%20and%20frameworks/Cape%20Town%20Metropolitan%20Spatial%20Development%20Framework_2018-04-25.pdf (retrieved October 28, 2018).

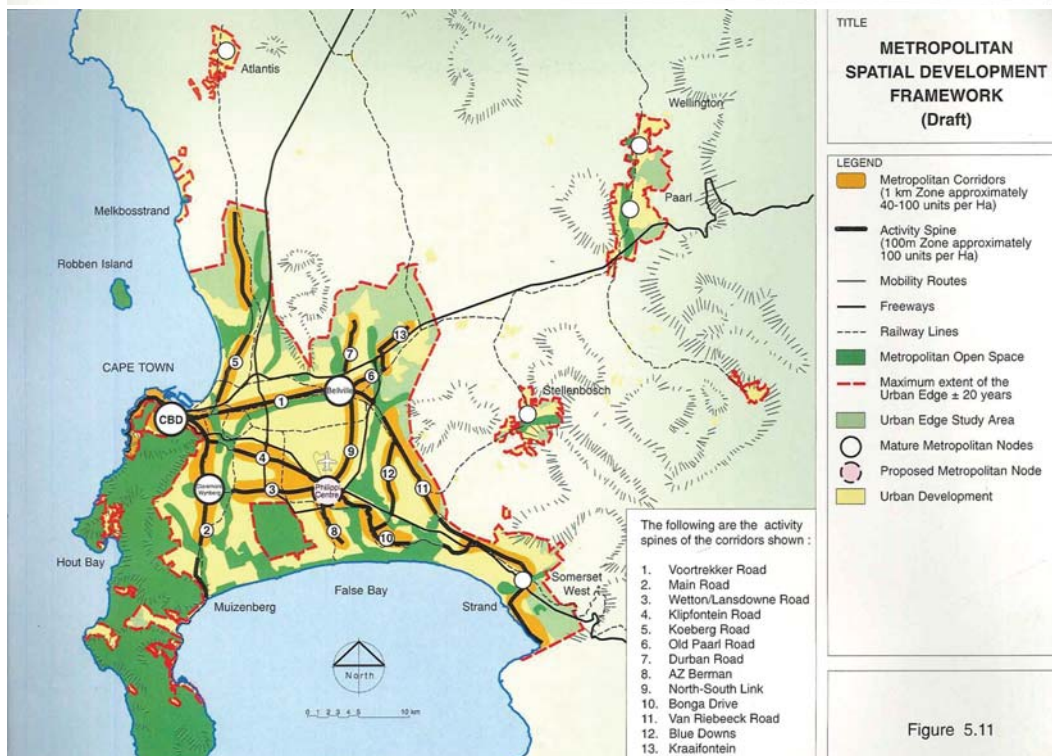
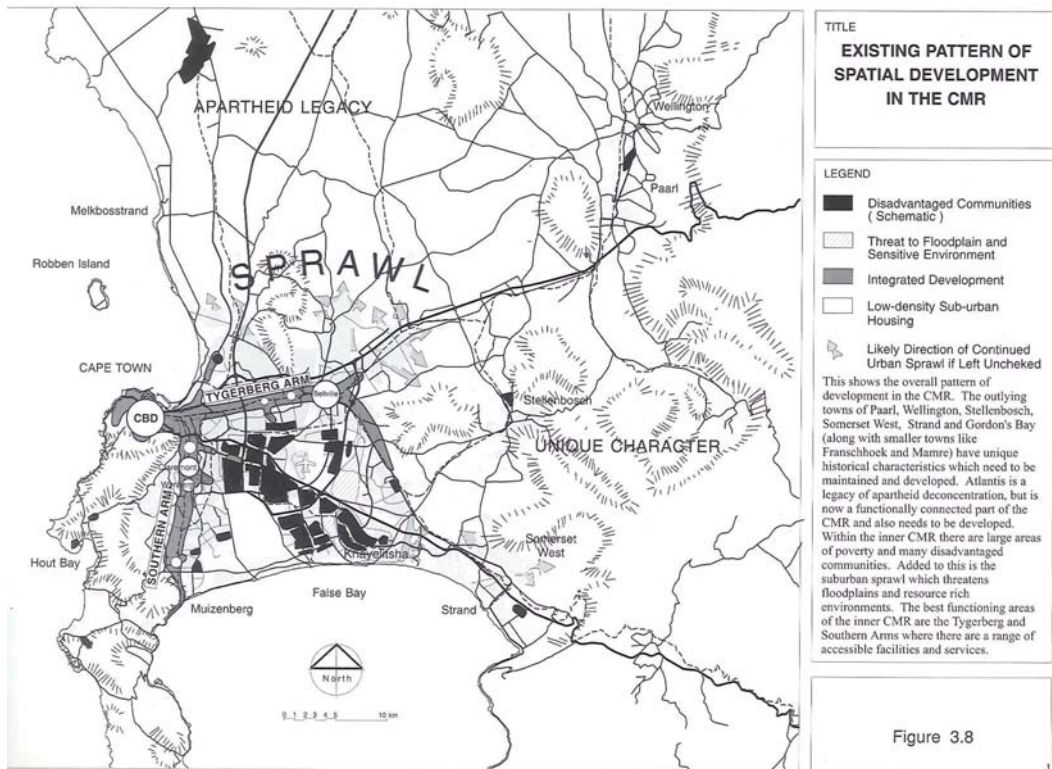
Fig. 32: Schematic illustration of racial inequality, MSDF 1996²¹¹Fig. 33: Area of development priority, MSDF 1996²¹²

²¹¹ (Cape Metropolitan Council 1996, 18).

²¹² (Cape Metropolitan Council 1996, 21).

The MSDF plans (Figures 34 and Figure 35) has been explored fully by Watson who considered it as a “heroic, modernist plan” and underlined the importance of creating a vision of an ideal future condition: democratic, non-racial, sustainable and focused on the poor (Watson 2002). The government document finally recognized some spatial consequence of the separate development. By contrast, what is missing is the understanding of relations that have caused the *dual city* structure (Marcuse 1989). In fact, the dual structure is represented by the categorization of white areas of opportunity and townships area of adverse circumstances. According to Watson, the simplification of white and black categories, rich and poor urban areas – even if in Cape Town is particularly sharp – become the basis for a simplified strategy, which suggest “redistribution, from givers to receivers, from the wealthy part of the city to the poor part” (Watson 2002, 105). The utopian plan suggests palliatives and not cures since it is based on simplified solution. Moreover, it does not take into account the neo-liberal macro-economy and international interest that the City started to embrace²¹³. The four development principles of MSDF (equality of opportunity, social justice, sustainable development, openness and accountability) set the ideological narrative, but seem to be more focus on the political plan of proposing the rainbow nation than on defining how to do it.

²¹³ “What the Technical Report of 1996 reflects, is that by 1996 the RDP was falling from favour, to be gradually replaced by a new neo-liberal macro-economic policy which showed growing concerns with economic growth and South Africa’s relationships to its global economic partners and international funding agencies” (Watson 2002, 98).

Fig. 34: Existing pattern of spatial development, MSDF 1996²¹⁴Fig. 35: Metropolitan Spatial Development framework, MSDF 1996²¹⁵²¹⁴ (Cape Metropolitan Council 1996, 17).²¹⁵ The vision of a modern multimodal city (Cape Metropolitan Council 1996, Figure 5.11).

4.2.1.2 Municipal Spatial Development Framework (Muni SDF)

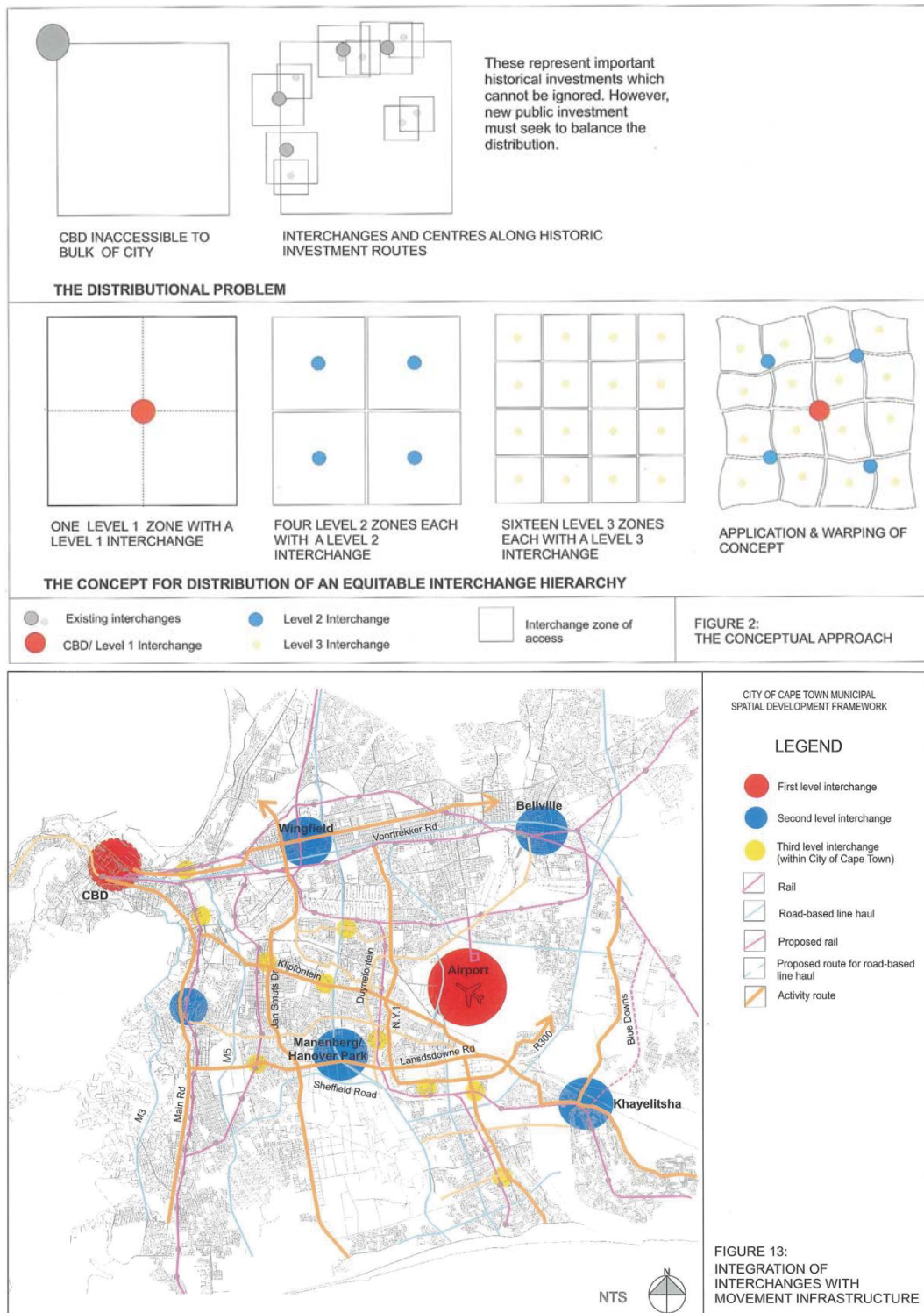
The Muni SDF is a draft document published by the City of Cape Town in 1999²¹⁶. Even though it has almost twenty years, its contents are essential in understanding the current planning policies of CoCT. Indeed, *equity* and *interest of all citizens* are central topics of this document, which starts with the recognition of dominant spatial patterns²¹⁷ and affirms that “the quality of urban public spatial environment is poor almost everywhere” (City of Cape Town 1999, 8). The objective to “build a city that works for all” (City of Cape Town 1999, 12) has its core in the *equity diagram*. The spatial framework is driven by the idea of creating new pattern of cluster opportunities and special places while making existing opportunities more accessible to the majority (City of Cape Town 1999, 20). The distributional problem is represented by a grid structure around existing and possible interchanges. The superimposition of this grid with the existing infrastructural network of Cape Town produces a vision of an integrated multi-nodal city. The idea is revolutionary for the time as it states that public investments should be concentrated in areas like Manenberg/ Hanover Park, Khayelitsha²¹⁸ and around the airport to balance the historical development corridors of the city (Figure 34 and Figure 35). In a way, the framework defines a step forward compared to the MSDF, proposing strategic area of investments.

The airport node is even represented with a bigger circle than the existing city centre. Two interpretations can be traced for this. On one hand, Cape Town in the 1990s is looking not only to find its national post-apartheid identity (Noble 2011), but also to affirm its growing importance as a global city. As a consequence, setting the airport as the counterpart of the CBD reflects the will to link the City with the world. On the other hand, the diagram placed the airport zone as the main centre of the grid. The surrounding system of existing roads, transportation corridors, activity routes can be considered as the starting point for a new interchange zone. Even if this proposal refers to the utopian idea of creation of multimodal city, the proposition finally shifted the focus and investments closer to township areas.

²¹⁶ “The movement to build public space in the post-apartheid period can be dated to 1997, when the head of the Planning School at the University of Cape Town – Prof. David Dewar – was hired by the CoCT metropolitan government to lead the Muni SDF” (Tomer 2016, 9). MSDF is authored by a small project team of municipal planners and urban designers headed up by David Dewar (core consultant). The team: Stephen Boshoff (management and urban planning), Barbara Southworth (urban planning and design), Cathy Glover and Rob McGaffin (urban planning), Paul Andrew (consultant: illustrations) and Stephen Heyns (consultant: document editing).

²¹⁷ Such as: low density sprawl; fragmented, discrete and inwardly looking cells of development; social facilities embedded in specific local housing areas; separation of people and activities; an incoherent system of open space (City of Cape Town 1999, 9).

²¹⁸ Khayelitsha was not even included in municipal border at the time. The Unicity define the actual border of the CoCT in 2000, the year after the final draft of MSDF.

Fig. 36: Conceptual approach, Muni SDF 1999²¹⁹Fig. 37: Adaptation of equity concept on site, Muni SDF 1999²²⁰²¹⁹ (City of Cape Town 1999, 23).²²⁰ (City of Cape Town 1999, 46).

The development of the so-called *people's place* is entrusting to the creation of public spaces linked with the natural resource green web. The fundamental role of public space as the “hearth of the any positive approach to settlement-making and urban management. Urban public spaces [...] are the primary meeting places of people in urban settlements. Functionally, they act as *urban living rooms* and as seams of connectivity and should be viewed as the primary form of social infrastructure in settlements. They are also important in creating memorable places and experiences – those places which form people’s *mental maps* of the city. While being important for all, there are particularly important in the lives of poorer households, whose housing is unable to accommodate the full range of the household’s needs” (City of Cape Town 1999, 51). These words²²¹ represent a revolutionary approach if applied in township areas and a novelty more in general. For the first time in Cape Town, a progressive development of special places around interchange points – clustering public parts – is proposed in a place with “no tradition of public space-making” (City of Cape Town 1999, 52).

²²¹ The description of the fundamental role of public space as social infrastructure in settlement, as urban living rooms is surely attributable to Dewar, who used these words in other publications (e.g. Dewar and Todeschini 2004, 69).

4.2.2 Public space policies

This thesis argues that public spaces have a crucial role in restructuring the apartheid city, a revolutionary statement in the South African context, and certainly a statement contrasting with South African post-apartheid spatial context. In order to prove it, it is fundamental to understand when this idea have been introduced in the society and how it has been developed. Compared to the housing policies (chapter 4.1.4), public space attention places a minor role in terms of budget review and media attention. However, some scholars (among others: Le Grange 1994, Southworth 2003) started to state the importance of public space in defining the new identity of post-apartheid South Africa. The existence of public space policies proves a political recognition of this topic. The research concentrates its attention on the evolution of public space policies in the City of Cape Town. The growing interest in the theme is demonstrated by the succession of different, but strictly linked policies that are analysed in the next sections: Dignified Places Programme (DDP) and Quality Public Space (QPS), 2010 FIFA World Cup legacy projects and Integrative Projects Approach.

4.2.2.1 Dignified Places Programme (DPP) – Quality Public Space (QPS)

“Until the late 1990s, the City of Cape Town’s municipal government did not have an urban design division. [...] The neglect of public space began to be addressed in 1997, when the city began to hire urban designers [...] and commissioned the Municipal Spatial Development Framework” (Tomer 2016, 197). The first programme focused specifically on public space within policies in Cape Town has been in 1999. It was the Dignified Places Programme (DPP), also known as Dignified Public Space. The programme strategy arose from the ideas and concepts specified in the Muni SDF²²². It can be considered as the first attempt of implementation of Muni SDF or as its “pilot programme” (NM&A 2010, Report 002:4). It was instituted by the urban designer Barbara Southworth²²³ and deeply influenced by her University of Cape Town’s education²²⁴. The programme consisted in developing or creating upgraded public open space to

²²² DPP and MuniSDF come out in the same year.

²²³ The author could not interview Barbara Southworth. However, information around DPP, political situation and DPP premises has been studied through her publications, and through interviews with the urban planner Stephen Boshoff (former executive Director of Strategy and Development at the City of Cape Town – and Southworth’s manager) and Bobby Gould-Pratt (urban designer who have worked with Barbara at the CoCT at the time of the DPP. She is currently in the team of GAPP, architectural firm in Cape Town in which Barbara is the Director).

²²⁴ In 1997 Southworth was hired by the CoCT and at the same time the CoCT commissioned to Prof. Dewar the Muni SDF. Barbara Southworth was David Dewar’s student so was influenced by his and Reolof Uytenbogaardt’s thinking – as many other UCT students (e.g. Vanessa Watson, Catherine Stone, Bobby Goud-Pratt, Marco Geretto).

help heal racial wounds, while working as a catalyst for future private development. The objective of the project – that had limited resources – was “to achieve more dignity, equity at the city scale²²⁵” (interview with Boshoff 2017). Looking at the metropolitan scale means recognizing “the huge inequalities and fragmentation of South Africa’s post-apartheid cities” (Southworth 2005, 3). Central to DPP was this statement: “urban public spaces have never been considered a part of Cape Town’s menu of public city building elements. [...] Open space is regarded as unaffordable to provide and maintain. [...] In short, public realm has been neglected and the resulting abandoned space between the institutions, businesses and residences of the city lacks the sense of dignity associated with well performing cities” (Southworth 2005, 4). “The [DPP] projects focus on the most public components and those elements necessary for adequate spatial definition, enclosure and identity, such as paving, seating, trees, low walls and colonnades” (Southworth 2003, 125). The believe of the programme was that the definition of those elements (the spatial ones) was strong enough to attract private development and to define public space in areas with few substantial buildings. The urban approach refers explicitly to the Muni SDF proposal for a “process of development of centres” (Figure 38). The idea of DPP was consistent with urban acupuncture (chapter 3.2.4), but the interventions were limited to spatial aspects.

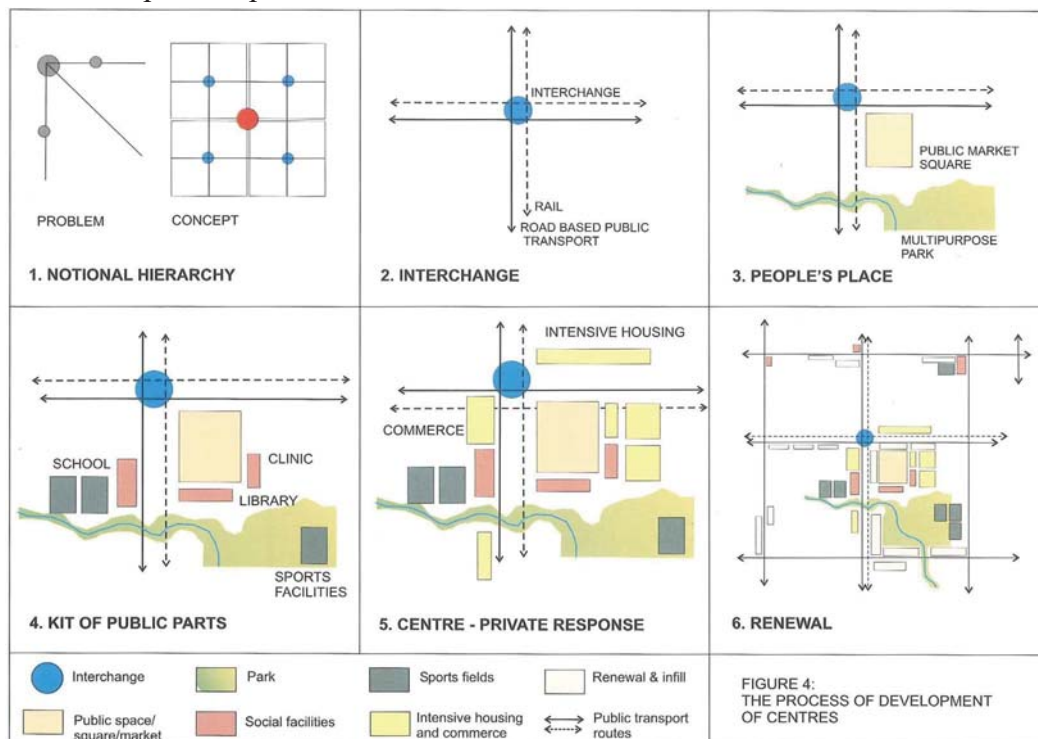


Fig. 38: Process of development of centres, Muni SDF 1999²²⁶

²²⁵The city scale is here indented as the metropolitan scale, even if at that time the city border was not included some peripheral areas.

²²⁶ (City of Cape Town 1999, 26).

Stephen Boshoff²²⁷ described DPP specifying that “the main challenge was not the space, but was to achieve cultural transformation”, moving the attention finally to historically neglected part of the city and to the public realm (interview with Boshoff 2017). According to the author, this shift is the most important achievement of the programme. The creation of positive public spaces through the use of buildings at the edges refers to the ideal urban design concepts, common even outside South Africa. Nevertheless, DPP also admits a limited and more feasible approach (Figure 39): “where the resources do not exist for the construction of formal public buildings or private developments a colonnaded edge can be created to provide a formal front to temporary or less substantial structured that can be upgraded over time. This will reinforce the sense of permanence established by the landscaping” (Boshoff and Southworth 2003).

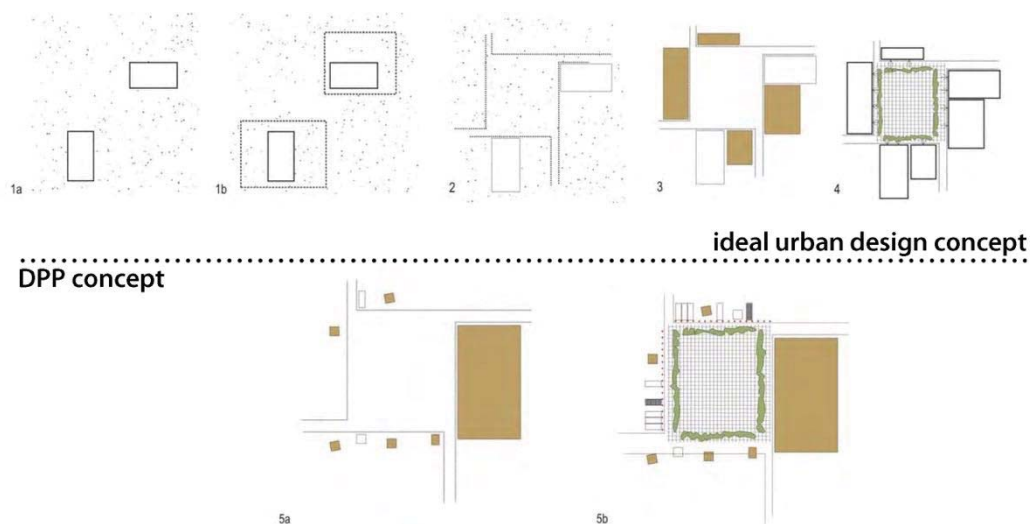


Fig. 39: Ideal urban design and DPP concept, 2003²²⁸

According to David Crane’s *capital web* concept, the objective of DPP was “addressing the city’s needs by privileging strategic points of intervention rather than developing a totalizing plan” (Tomer 2016, 200). Therefore, the location of those public spaces is a fundamental element of its success or of its failure. It is also true that there was neither resources nor will to act differently. The ability of the DPP was the recognition that council departments were working in silos – also called *line departments* - and therefore there were often loss in resources or overlapping interventions²²⁹. Hence, Southworth defined the role of urban design

²²⁷ Boshoff is the former executive Director of Strategy and Development at the City of Cape Town – and Southworth’s manager.

²²⁸ The key design principles displayed in the diagram show ideal urban design approach (Fig. 1a, 2, 3 and 4) and DPP approach (Fig. 5a and 5b) (Boshoff and Southworth 2003).

²²⁹ “The programme started with no dedicated or consolidated budget but was founded through the creative pooling of different line-function budgets. The successes of the completed projects have resulted in an increase in the allocation of budgets for public spaces and the identification of dignified places as a high level strategic priority” (Boshoff and Southworth 2003).

proposing to invest the small amount of money of each department around a common simple urban design project (interview with Klitzner 2017) in order to provide a *dignified place* in underprivileged areas. DDP started modestly with four projects implemented in 1999 and further nine projects implemented between 1999 and 2002. All of them were located in the area of *lack of opportunity*, as defined by MSDF in 1996, reflecting the equity concept. Then, the objective of the programme was to implement 100 spaces across Cape Town within 2010 (Boshoff and Southworth 2003)²³⁰. In fact, soon the project became popular and politicised, meaning that each council wanted its own Dignified Public Space. Therefore, the location of new public spaces was not more determined structurally and strategically, but was defined politically.

However, the initial and core intentions of DPP remain intact, even if its name changed in time to survive “in response to a changing political and administrative context” (NM&A 2010, report 002:5). Therefore, the name *CoCT’s Uluntu Plaza* can be considered as the isiXhosa translation for DDP and has been used by the Urban Design Branch in 2003 report (Boshoff and Southworth 2003), when Cape Town was under ANC political party. According to the Spatial Planning and Urban Design Department²³¹, the DPP lasted from 1999 to 2008²³², to be replaced by the Quality Public Space (QPS) programme, which lasted from 2008 to 2011, under the DA local government²³³. With the passing of years, not only the political leadership changed in Cape Town, but South Africa has also been selected to host the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Suddenly, international attention was pointed at urban areas all around the country and their potential developments. In a sense, QPS acted as a *filter* programme between DPP and the Soccer World Cup legacy projects (chapter 4.2.2.2). In fact, the proposed projects under the QPS programme were not just focus in townships or poor areas, and many of them were linked to parks or sport facilities²³⁴.

²³⁰ According to the Spatial Planning and Urban Design Department, 68 projects implemented by the department have been implemented by 2016. They were contrasting the Cape Town inherited urban structure, which tends to reinforce area of wealth and quality. (Data shared during a presentation at the CoCT Civic Centre’s office on the 18th March 2016 about public spaces policies and projects).

²³¹ Presentation at the CoCT Civic Centre’s office on the 18th March 2016 about public spaces policies and projects, held by the Spatial Planning and Urban Design Department (now called “Urban Integrative Department”).

²³² These dates match with the *Social review of the CoCT’s DPP* prepared by the City during 2006 and 2007 to review the completed projects (City of Cape Town 2007). Not by chance, the year 2006 was when ANC lost power and DA was voted in the municipal election.

²³³ In 2006, DA won the municipal elections against the ANC party. DA is ruling since 2006: Helen Zille ruled from 2006 to 2009; Don Plato from 2009 to 2011 and Patricia de Lille is the current mayor and was elected in 2011.

²³⁴ Such as Philippi sports complex, Khayelitsha stadium, Atlantis park, Observatory village green, Play parks in Nyanga, Athlone, Guguletu (source: presentation at the CoCT Civic Centre’s office on the 18th March 2016 about public spaces policies and projects).

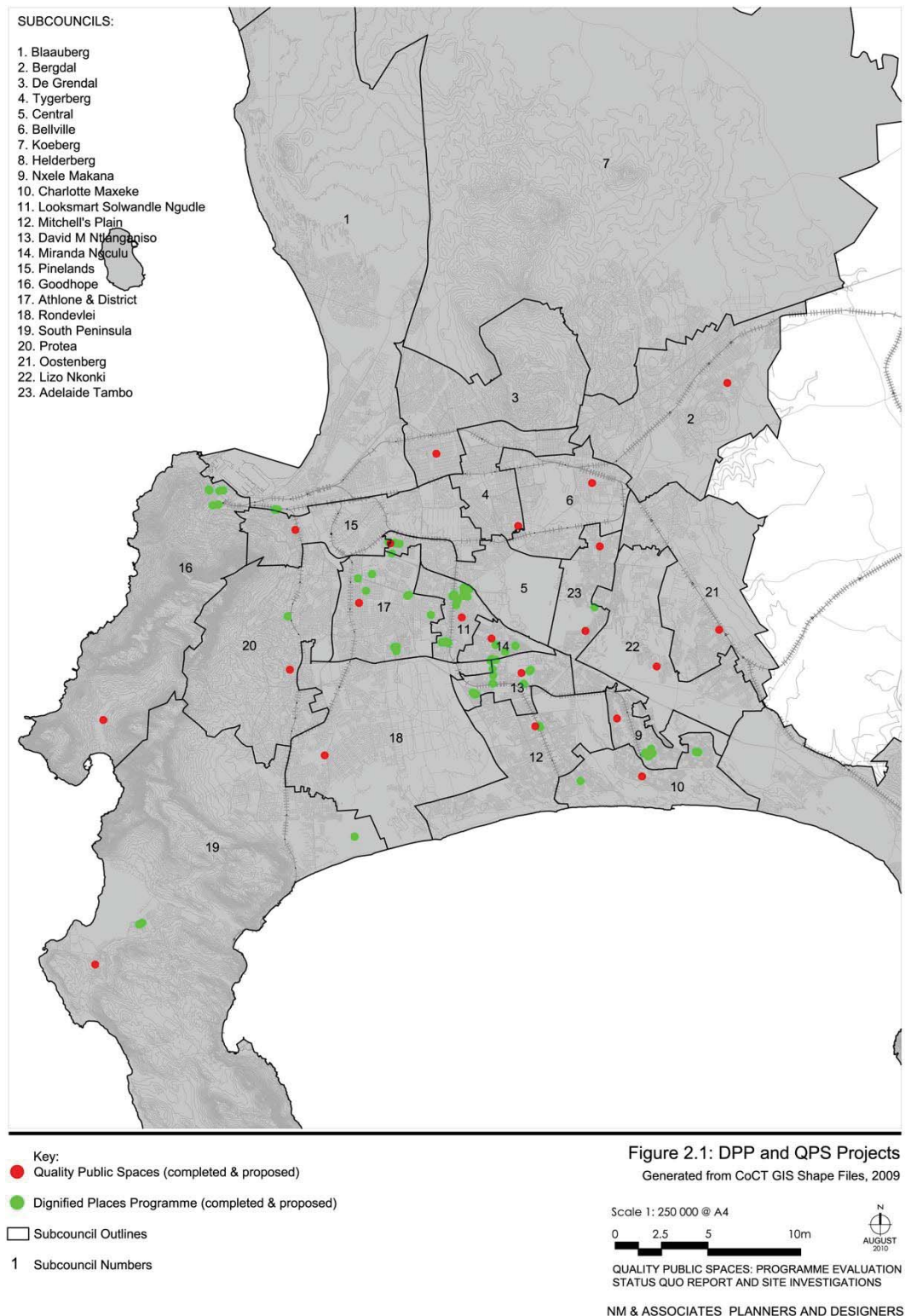


Fig. 40: Distribution of DPP and QPS projects, NM&A 2010²³⁵

²³⁵ The distribution of projects both under DPP (green) and QPP (red) are represented in the map reproduced in the Report no. 002. *Status quo report and site investigations* (NM&A 2010, Report 002: Fig. 2.1).

The initial objective of QPS was to provide public spaces in each sub-council acting also as potential community viewing areas to screen the World Cup, and at the same time to respond to political will of extending the programme to reach as many people as possible. The challenge was too ambitious and the programme has continued regardless. The distribution of public space projects (DPP and QPS) in Figure 40 shows clearly this transition.

The intention of the DPP was to place concern for urban design on the agenda of local government, creating a positive sense of place (NM&A 2010). And QPS continued to design public spaces within the city boundary. Certainly, DPP and QPS have attempted to bring an important innovation: they have positioned public space at the centre of urban policy. Nevertheless, many critiques have been moved to both programmes because of management, maintenance issues as well as top-down approach and lack of public participation. In 2010, the city Council commissioned a review of public place policies, called *Quality public spaces. Programme evaluation* (NM&A 2010), and this document is of great importance for two reasons. Firstly, it constitutes an evaluation of both DPP and QPS programme and relative projects, then it represents a collection of all Cape Town public spaces built during post-apartheid by the City. Secondly, it has been commissioned by the CoCT to external professionals, providing an external point of view²³⁶. The recommendation report (NM&A 2010, Report 004) has the intent to define if the objectives of the programme has been fully, partially or not met. Two objectives are reported as not fulfilled: “to make projects incomplete, like armatures that could be interpreted, inhabited and added to by the community that used them” and “to promote the involvement of other agencies and private sector with the capital or the operational and maintenance aspects of these projects”.

In conclusion, the great novelty of DPP and QPS has been setting the goal of providing public spaces where it was denied, but some critical points can be underlined. Firstly, there has been no debate about the definition of public space in those contexts, in spatial and social terms. International urban principles have been simply applied to local context. Secondly, the lack of clear edges of those public spaces has implied their state of neglect and abandon. Since the minimalist approach has been a constraint due to scarcity of resources rather than a design decision, it would be probably more effective the implementation of a smaller number of strategic interventions to target resources in a more effective way. Thirdly, the financial resources were subdivided to meet the demands of each councillors because the programme became politicised. As a consequence, the strategic choice of the locations was driven by a political choice more than by an

²³⁶NM & Associates Planners and Designers (NM&A), supported by RAINN (Resources for African Innovations) and Tarna Klitzner Landscape Architect (TKLA) were appointed by the City of Cape Town to evaluate the Quality Public Space Programme. The final report was completed in August 2010 (NM&A 2010).

urban design choice. The positive aspect is that public spaces have been *booked* as public open spaces²³⁷ in term of land use, but the flexibility allowed by the minimalist and local intervention was not strong enough to give an identity to the space. Therefore, most of them remained isolated and never worked as *urban living rooms*, as shown in Figure 41.

In other words, DPP and QPS programmes have been particularly relevant because they state again the importance of public space. Their limited impact in the urban restructuring has been affected by their very small scale and by their location²³⁸. The fact that the public spaces were small is not a negative feature by itself. The problem is that they were small to apply equality and therefore to be effective in as many parts of the city as possible while it would have been more effective to apply equity²³⁹ and therefore to improve the worst situations providing a structural and hierarchical connection between the interventions.



Fig. 41: Example of an abandoned QPP in Khayelitsha, by M. Bodino, 2017²⁴⁰

²³⁷ “When we have reviewed them (NM report): we have noticed that some of the spaces didn’t survive. Some of them were quite isolated, and the infrastructure that was meant to happen around them hadn’t actually happen. So, they become desolate. And we, all the professionals that were working at the town at that time, developed this term called *booking space*. The space has been developed, even if they become a bit decrepit, the space was book as open space. They were booked as public space, but if you don’t develop them something else could happen to them” (interview with Tarna Klitzner 2017)

²³⁸ In fact, most of the time, the location was politically chosen instead of strategically defined.

²³⁹ About difference between equality and equity, see Figure 101 and Chapter 6.1.

²⁴⁰ The photo taken by the author on the 3rd April 2017 shows to Khayelitsha CBD square, analysed also in the 2010 report (NM&A 2010, Report 002: 162-167). “The location is a no man’s land” surrounded by nothing else than empty sandy open space used as to litter or to park. The mall on the west side is the only edge provided, while nothing else have been developed around

4.2.2.2 2010 FIFA World Cup legacy projects

“The Cape Town Olympic Bid can be understood as a significant moment for spatial production, particularly state-driven development, in Cape Town. The city submitted its Olympic bid in January 1996 (...), less than two years after the nation’s first democratic elections. The bid was structured around the premise that the games would be held at facilities located across the city, rather than be concentrated at a single site, assumedly in the city’s center” (Tomer 2016, 212-213). Therefore, the South Africa proposal for the Olympic Bid was aligned to the public place policies described in the previous sections. In 2004, Cape Town won the bid. This achievement has opened the opportunity to trigger major infrastructural investments as socio-economic catalyst, and it has also triggered highly contested debate around the stadium selection (Swart and Bob 2009). “Once South Africa won the World Cup, Cape Town was forced to abandon its plan to host the semi-final games at the Athlone Stadium, located in the formerly-coloured township of the same name. Instead FiFA convinced the city to demolish an old stadium and build a new one in its place in Greenpoint, which is wealthy, predominantly white area, adjacent to the city centre, tourist attractions such as the V&A Waterfront and the exclusive Atlantic seaboard beaches and suburbs. While the Athlone stadium is relatively central to many of the city’s formerly black and coloured townships, Greenpoint is remote for the majority of the city’s residents” (Tomer 2016, 213). The venue selection was linked to FIFA’s strict requirements according to Swart and Bob (2009), but the political change of leadership at the metropolitan level in 2006²⁴¹ played also a crucial role. The political shift represented also a policy shift, since a greater attention towards international recognition and world-class cities’ objectives has increased of the detriment of the pro-poor approach. The position of the Green Point stadium in particular can be considered as the emblem of this change. On one hand, Cape Town’s 2010 stadium was chosen as lead project of the city – as framed in the intention of the IDP. On the other hand, not being able to use the FIFA money to address the real problems of the city represents a relevant intellectual clash. In other words, a different position of the stadium (in Athlone or further in the Cape Flats) would have demonstrated a real commitment in the opportunity to restructure the city²⁴². Without success, some critics – Boshoff among others – tried to push the political agenda towards more effective interventions: “high-profile lead projects fail to address the collective needs of the City of Cape Town,

the paved surface. This example shows how the place has been embellished, but cannot be considered a square or a public space because of the absence of edges which can active it.

²⁴¹ From ANC to DA: in 2006 DA won the municipal elections against the ANC party.

²⁴² Urban and architectural consequences of international mega-events have been subject of many urban studies. These are not analysed since not relevant to respond to the research questions.

while programmes that do, such as infrastructure maintenance, are not politically popular because they are not very visible” (Boshoff 2007).

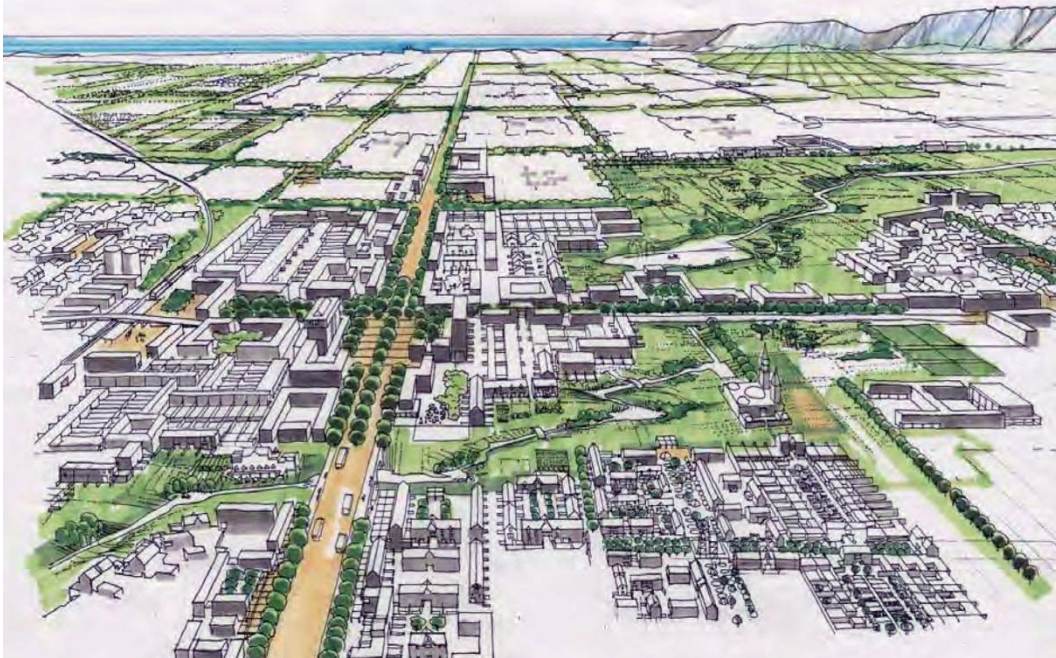


Fig. 42: Integrated and balance settlements, CoCT, 2006 ²⁴³

Fig. 43: Linking communities to the sea, CoCT, 2006 ²⁴⁴

²⁴³ *Integrated and balanced settlements including positive green systems, good public transport, economic opportunities and high quality public spaces* (Boshoff et al. 2006, 46).

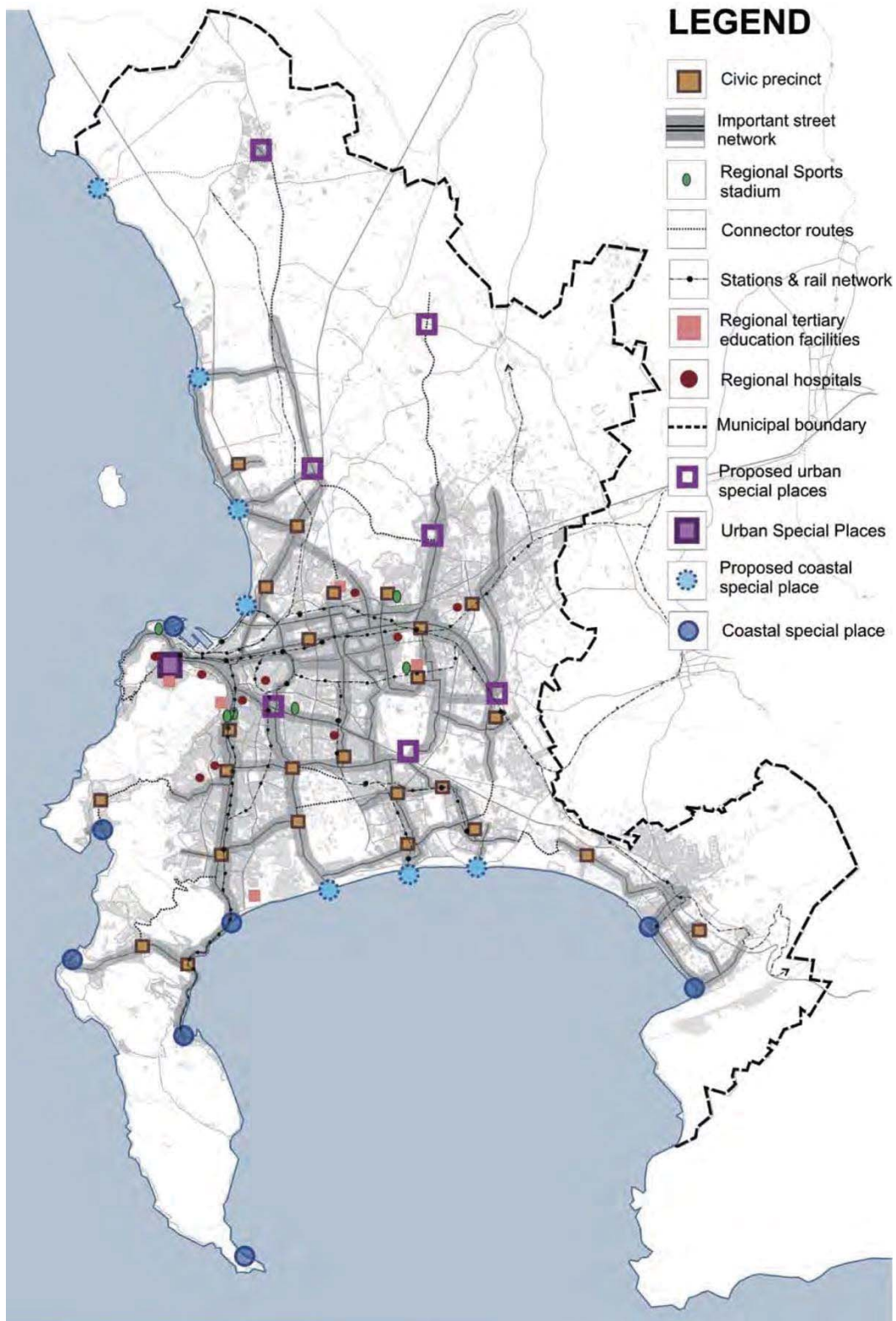


Fig. 44: Proposed system of citywide public and civic places, CoCT, 2006²⁴⁵

²⁴⁴ *Linking communities to the sea. Possibilities at Mitchell's Plain* (Boshoff et al. 2006, 53).

²⁴⁵ (Boshoff et al. 2006, 49)

The document *Planning for future Cape Town* (Figures 42, 43 and 44), prepared in 2006 by the planning department²⁴⁶ was clear in rethinking strategic movement infrastructure, establishing an equitable pattern of access. The document reclaimed again the concept of the Muni SDF and it implied a redistribution approach. Therefore, the position of the stadium in Green Point represents a great failure in the possibility to redistribute resources (Boshoff et al. 2006). Actually, the visions and the proposal of the document deeply contrast with what has been done around the World Cup event. That demonstrate how planning tools are powerful and detached from reality at the same time.

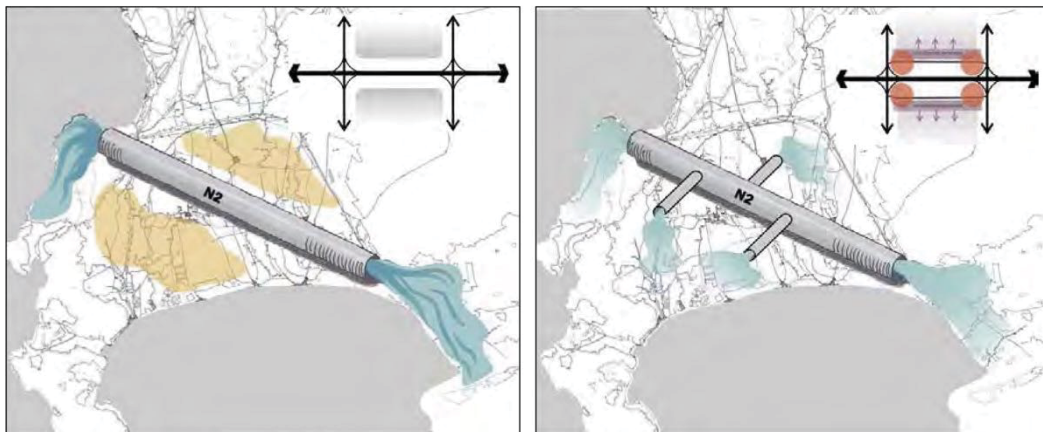


Fig. 45: Rethinking strategic movement infrastructure, CoCT, 2006²⁴⁷

The two graphics (Figure 45) shows²⁴⁸:

- “the current situation where a huge number of people with money move past the poorest communities on a daily basis and no economic benefits are transferred – as the N2 *pipe* of opportunity is sealed (the left side is Cape Town city centre, the right side is the entrance of the rich *Winelands* area)
- the proposed plan that follow the concept to *puncture* the N2 *pipe* and create opportunities for the *thirsty* communities to benefit from the flows of energy and money through projects adjacent to the N2”.

In addition to the contested stadium project, the World Cup also left other important public space projects in Cape Town. In Green Point (close and linked to the new stadium), the Green Point Park was developed, which connects the stadium and V&A Waterfront area with a golf club and with the Sea Point Promenade. The design of the park is interesting and can be seen as an inclusive space, even if its location perpetuates the spatial injustice of the city.

²⁴⁶ The document has been prepared by: Stephen Boshoff (Executive Director: Strategy and Planning), Barbara Southworth (Director: City Spatial Development); Norah Walker (Manager: Spatial Planning), Cedric Daniels (Manager: Urban Design).

²⁴⁷ (Boshoff et al. 2006, 31).

²⁴⁸ The following description has been taken from a draft presentation by Norah Walker, November 2007.



Fig. 46: Fan mile linear public space, CoCT, 2006²⁴⁹

Furthermore, the so-called *fan-walk* project is one of the most successful intervention. The project is a *fan mile* linear public space (Figure 46) that has been improved in order to link the CBD with the stadium. Therefore, participants to the event could walk through the inner city and experience small improved public spaces. Among others, Green Market Square and the Grand Parade (the so-called *fan-parks* where many events took place) has been paved and refurbished. These spaces not only served during the Football World Cup to host events, but today are fundamental spaces of trading and encounters for Cape Town citizens and tourists. The Station Square has also been implemented for the World Cup. It can be considered the *gate* or *arrival point* to the city centre since it is the railway line terminus. Prior to this event the square was used by informal traders to sell a variety of goods. The forced removal of informal traders has been linked to the FIFA event²⁵⁰, but has been maintained in the following regulations. In fact, today the Station Square is a pleasant environment, but deliberately not *occupied* by traders. The *N2 Gateway Project* is another very contested project of that period

²⁴⁹ Image taken from the shared presentation at the CoCT Civic Centre's office on the 18th March 2016 about public spaces policies and projects, held by the Spatial Planning and Urban Design Department (now called "Urban Integrative Department").

²⁵⁰ According to interviews and presentations in which the author assisted during the time spent in Cape Town (including a lesson of architect Mokena Makeka, who designed the renovation of the station and the overlooking square). For images of the station project look at the following link: <http://www.makekadesigns.com/projects/transport/cape-town-station> (retrieved July 8, 2017).

that proposed the *formalization* of the Joe Slovo informal settlement – places between Langa township and the N2 highway²⁵¹. This project deals with housing and not with public spaces, but the approach used can be linked to the case of the square in front of the train station. On one hand, the project “has been presented as a pioneering housing solution for informal inhabitants of Langa. In contrast, because of its strategic position, it can also be conceived as a camouflage to improve the urban view for foreigners when driving from the international airport to the city centre” (Bodino 2016, 342). As in the case of DPP, the project became politicised, and also heavily subsidised. These conditions make it difficult to replicate the housing solution proposed.

In conclusion, the year 2010 – and the related decisions taken in previous years – represents a decisive moment to understand how Cape Town has dealt with the mediation between the world-class city’s ambition and pro-poor strategies.

²⁵¹ The N2 highway corridor in Cape Town connects the city centre with the airport. It is one of the major roads of the town. It runs along the Langa township, the first and closest to the centre township of the city.

4.2.2.3 Integrative approach

In a way, the 2010 World Cup legacy projects has represented almost a parenthesis in public space policies since the focus – and therefore municipal money – shifted from the more disadvantaged areas to the city centre. The current policy about public space in Cape Town is called by CoCT *Integrative Projects approach*, but it doesn't refer to an official published policy or programme²⁵². The CoCT stance is that – learning from DPP, QPS and World Cup experience – the implementation of public space has to face management, maintenance and operational challenges that can be dealt just with an integrative approach. The integrative approach can be considered the natural continuation of public space policies. It seems to be the answer to the difficulties of dealing with complex urban problems. Nevertheless, the methodology proposed contrasts with the existing municipal system of compartmentalised blocks²⁵³. This existing division of sectors became evident during the research work. It involves not only the bureaucratic organization, but it concerns also the disciplinary level. Is a department composed only by architects, urban designers and planners be able to design integrative spaces with a holistic approach? The goal to be achieved is integrative spaces, or inclusive²⁵⁴ ones? That is a situation common to many others: the same question could be asked in an Italian context for example. At a theoretical level, we are talking about a holistic and integrative approach, but at the practical level it is difficult to find a system capable of being resilient enough to bring together different professionals and mediators able to orchestrate a truly integrated design. Public space policies have been useful to slightly move the attention from the housing issue to the urban organization of the public realm. However, they have not explicitly discussed the political and structural needs to trigger this change.

This thesis states that the current approach of the City about public space is strictly linked to the Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading (VPUU) programme²⁵⁵. Even if the name of the programme seems to be not strictly addressed to public space, one of the main focus of the programme is urban design and implementation of public spaces. The programme started around 2000 with “a conversation between the German government and the South African government about the main constraints to development in South Africa” (interview

²⁵² Considering the data collected by the author during the sojourn.

²⁵³ As an example, it has been impossible for the author to find an official vector map of Cape Town identifying public spaces and buildings (there would be one for libraries, one for parks, one for schools...). This episode is a tiny demonstration that *line departments* are used to work in silos, each dealing with its own sector.

²⁵⁴ About the differences between integrative and inclusive spaces see chapter 5.1.

²⁵⁵ This statement has been confirmed during the interviews with main stakeholders, especially interviewing people working for or with the CoCT (Alastair Graham, Andreas Gensinke, Michael Krause among others).

with Michael Krause²⁵⁶, 2017). Relating also to the UN-Habitat Safer cities programme²⁵⁷, urban crime and violence has been chosen as main challenges to be faced. The mission of VPUU is “reducing crime, increasing safety and security and improving the living and social conditions of communities through urban improvements and social interventions”²⁵⁸. For the scope of this research, the most relevant part of VPUU programme is the so-called *situational crime prevention* since it is linked to the infrastructure development, and in particular to the construction of safe public spaces. The programme is complex and interdisciplinary, including different spheres of interventions (Figure 47). This approach can also be called integrative and then it relates directly to the current strategy of the CoCT that deals with public spaces. For this reason, the VPUU pilot project in Harare (Khayelitsha) will be analysed in-depth the chapter 5.3. In fact, this project is considered the most vaunted public spaces project of the city and an extreme case study to learn from. Evaluating the process of creation, implementation and occupation of this space may be relevant in understanding actual desegregation process of Cape Town. Furthermore, the analysis of this project is useful to understand the real situation and the limits of the integrative approach proposed by the CoCT.



Fig. 47: VPUU concept, 2014²⁵⁹

²⁵⁶ Michael Krause is the actual CEO and Director of VPUU programme. He is a German urban designer who joined the programme in 2006.

²⁵⁷ Launched in 1996. Retrieved May 5, 2017. <https://www.google.it/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=2&ved=0ahUKEwjkyI2L94TaAhXBVywKHT9LAzoQFggvMAE&url=http%3A%2F%2Fmirror.unhabitat.org%2Fpmss%2FgetElectronicVersion.aspx%3Fnr%3D1919%26alt%3D1&usg=AOvVaw3JK4QjQqxdgYIzFeCHgaa>

²⁵⁸ <http://vpuu.org.za/who-we-are/> (retrieved January 26, 2018).

²⁵⁹ (Krause *et al.* 2014, 17).

The integrative approach of the CoCT is relevant also because it demonstrates that “there has been a gradual shift from informal settlement eradication to informal settlement upgrading in recent years” (Cirolia *et al.* 2016, 3)²⁶⁰. In fact, the integrative approach is applied not just in public space programmes and policies; it also questions how to deal with informal settlements. Moreover, some provincial prevention policies adopt a *whole of society* approach, recognizing that “successful implementation requires intersectoral cooperation across the whole of society including role-players in the public health, criminal justice, educational and social development sectors, and the active participation and partnership of citizens and civil society more broadly” (Cassidy *et al.* 2015, 4). Since VPUU was not explicitly created for the improvement of the public realm, the programme does not deal directly with the need to improve public space as a problem of the discipline of architecture. For example, it is never mentioned the need to reframe the references, or to retrace the definition and the role of public space. Moreover, the lack of structural and political will to reclaim the public space as a tool to restructure the city is not even questioned. According the author, this is a fundamental missing requirement.

²⁶⁰ This shift reflects the “international thinking and practice that calls for the incremental improvement of informal or extra-legal modalities of urban settlements” (Cirolia *et al.* 2016, 3). More reflection on informal settlement upgrading in Cape Town in a DAG paper produced for UCT (DAG 2014).

Chapter 5

Learning from Cape Town desegregation: Khayelitsha

5.1 Desegregation process: inclusion attempt?

The etymology of de-segregation underlines the will to reverse the process of segregation. In other words, the term desegregation concerns the attempt to “rebuild the apartheid city into its antithesis: the integrated city” (Pieterse 2006, 12). Pieterse definition is almost a provocation²⁶¹, which the author of this thesis would replace with this phrase: “restructuring the apartheid city into its antithesis: the inclusive city”. Indeed, *rebuilding* (literally) the apartheid city seems to assume a *tabula rasa* approach. This is utopian and presupposes ignoring the history of South Africa that has shaped the contemporary state. Alternatively, the author proposes to assess Cape Town as an ordinary space in order to understand the current process of desegregation at the theoretical level as well its implementation, reframing the way cities are analysed conventionally.

Desegregation and integration are quite general terms, used in academic and politic discourses. Both expressions demonstrate the desire to overcome the segregation of apartheid, which includes cultural, political, economic and spatial aspects. The aim of this chapter is to clarify the use of this words focusing on spatial aspects.

²⁶¹ Reading Pieterse’s work, his intention is to encourage a strong change to overturn the rules of apartheid.

A diagram commonly used in educational studies²⁶² (Figure 48) can be applied to urban studies to understand the difference between integration and inclusion in spatial terms. Exclusion and segregation are forms of denying access to a minority, while integration means to allow that access while defining specific and spatially enclosed places for the minority. Inclusion is a much more complex approach which aim to let minorities coexist with everyone else in the same spaces. In the diagram, the circle outline is the spatial element that divides or includes people: it represents the buffer zone. However, the diagram does not explain which tools are effective to reach an inclusive space. This research argues that public spaces is one of the tool that can make cities more inclusive, being conscious that socio-economic and political aspects could also affect profoundly the use of space.

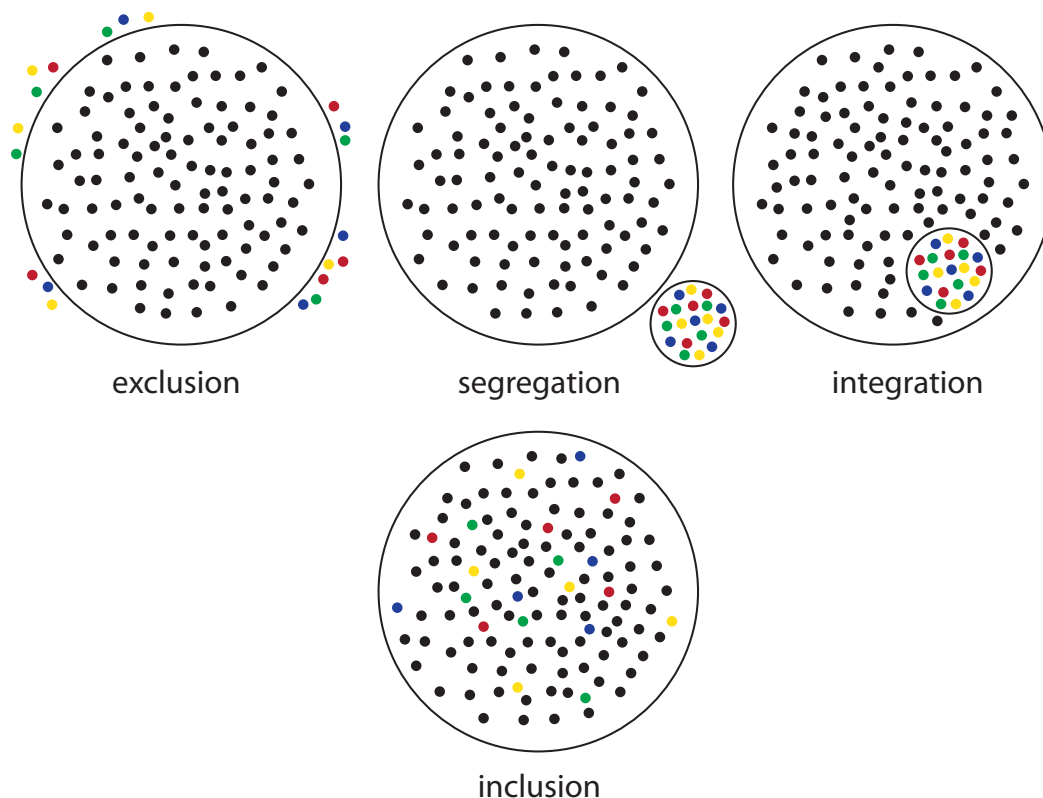


Fig. 48: Inclusion diagram, by M. Bodino, 2018

If we look at the diagram concentrating the attention on space it is easy to compare this concept with the case study of Cape Town and to relate Figure 48

²⁶² The image is just a redrawn of the diagram used in the document *A summary of the evidence on inclusive education* by Abt associates: https://alana.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/A_Summary_of_the_evidence_on_inclusive_education.pdf (retrieved September 22, 2018). This document visualizes the difference between exclusion, segregation, integration and inclusion, whose definition are extracted from a United Nations document: United Nations Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities General Comment No. 4: <https://www.ohchr.org/en/hrbodies/crpd/pages/gc.aspx> (retrieved September 22, 2018).

with Figure 28. It is clear that Cape Town still have segregated neighbourhood, while the city centre seems to be quite inclusive, meaning that people of different races are living there. Considering its history, this is already a good achievement. The diagram outlines just the race distribution, while it does not take into account the economic and social aspects. Indeed, looking at the income distribution²⁶³, it would be clear that the inclusive area in spatial terms represents the area of higher income levels where high and middle classes of different races live.

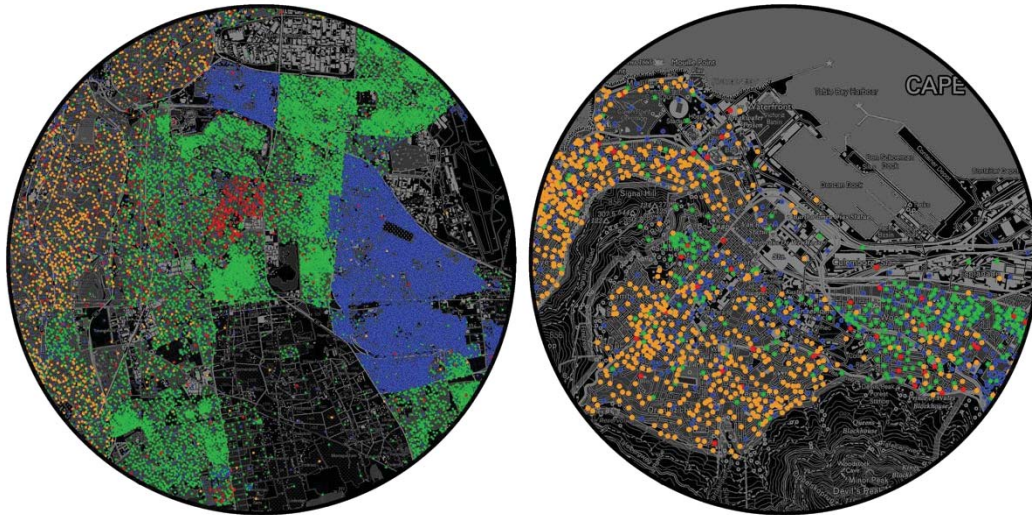


Fig. 49: CT segregation and inclusion, by M. Bodino, 2018
(Figure 49 is an extract from Figure 28: on the left, poorer segregated neighbourhoods and, on the right, inclusive city centre)

The process of spatial inclusion has to be understood within the context of democratization: “if public spaces – streets, plazas – can be seen as the places where individual and social expressions can be performed, then we can qualify these spaces as the ultimate expression of democracy in the city” (Grauer 2002, 16). The reference to democracy brings the discussion to an abstract level, and often the same happens when the term inclusion is used. In fact, inclusion is a wide concept, as democracy. It is usually considered as the opposite of exclusion. While it may seem quite linear to define who or what you are excluding, it is much more complex to have a comprehensive approach and determine if and how inclusion can happen, especially in urban areas.

The Institute of Development Studies in 2017 has introduced the acronym IUC (Inclusive Urbanization Cities) and has pointed the attention to the use of inclusion in the urban literature, attempting to clarify it. The definition of inclusion by Kasper *et al.*²⁶⁴ ranges “from removing discrimination, to enhancing

²⁶³ For more information see the following link: https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Income-distribution-in-the-Cape-Town-metropolitan-area_fig1_241715290 (retrieved September 22, 2018).

²⁶⁴ IUC includes “social, economic and political processes, as well as an aspiration for equitable cities that enable wellbeing and a good quality of life for all as outcomes [...]. More

voice in existing institutions, to securing people's human rights" (Kasper *et al.*, 23) and it involves both process and outcome. It is a broad definition which attempt to give "a response to the growing disparities in income and wealth experiences in urban areas since the mid-1980s" (Kasper *et al.*, 11). What is missing is a framework at the urban design and architectural scale and an analysis of its possible application. In fact, the use of the term inclusion often remains at the theoretical: in the global and national agenda, in the city level policy as well as in the academic discourses. In international and policy language, the term inclusion and exclusion are used in a simplified way as aspirational term²⁶⁵. At the same time, the use of the word starting from 2030 Agenda (Goal n. 11 is *Make cities inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable* and others) reflects a growing attention to the complex and multidisciplinary concept related to the urban challenges. The production of the so-called exclusionary cities prioritizes the urban wealthy and middle classes focusing on economic growth; while "inclusion can designate radically transformative development" if priority is given to the pursue of rights, empowerment and equity (McGranahan *et al.* 2016, 17). In the urban planning literature, inclusion mainly refers to economic aspects, social cohesion, land tenure, and also as a way to engage with informal settlements. Those aspects are significant for this research even if they do not refer explicitly to spatial aspects. In the architecture literature, inclusion refers to the issue of accessibility and aging²⁶⁶, which are strictly linked to space but they do not consider socio-economic aspects.

The next chapter (5.2) attempts to fill this gap, focusing on Khayelitsha township in Cape Town, where space have been created in order to separate²⁶⁷. The case study is extreme, as the context in which is placed. Precisely for these reasons, some phenomena are more evident, such as the spatial inequality. On one hand, assessing interventions in such an extreme area may seem simpler. On the other hand, the extrapolation of relevant information in extreme contexts can be useful to be tested and analysed in ordinary context. Furthermore, if we consider Cape Town as an ordinary city²⁶⁸, there is no extreme or normal situation to compare to. Khayelitsha – as any other neighbourhoods – is a complex and interdisciplinary reality, which cannot be simplified for its extreme features. The task of the author in this thesis has been to extract relevant spatial aspects in order to find ways to contrast spatial inequality and then to promote inclusion.

equitable and just urban societies enable disadvantaged groups to politically voice and articulate their concerns, pointing to the critical role of urban governance" (Kasper *et al.* 2017, 9).

²⁶⁵ "Inclusion is rapidly becoming a staple concept in donor discourses on cities and urbanization (exemplified by the New Urban Agenda)" (Kasper *et al.* 2017, 9).

²⁶⁶ In spatial terms, inclusion is used to ensure everyone the possibility to access a building or a public space. For example, it refers to replace barriers with ramps and to add lifts to stairs. The architectural tools for inclusion in literature refers to adapt surfaces.

²⁶⁷ Khayelitsha is one of the most disadvantage and less inclusive area of Cape Town.

²⁶⁸ See chapter 2.1.2 (Reference: part 1+2+3: Robinson 2006a).

5.2 Khayelitsha. Spatial analysis

5.2.1 Origin. From housing solution to alienated environment

Khayelitsha is the emblem of Black township in Cape Town. “On the 30th March, 1983 the Minister of Cooperation and Development announced plans for a new settlement for Africans east to Mitchell’s Plain”, far away from the city centre (Surplus Peoples Project 1984, 75). Khayelitsha literally means *new home* in isiXhosa²⁶⁹ and it was sponsored to be the place of opportunity for all Black Africans *legal* people living in the Cape. On the contrary, the township is located in a sandy and windy area in the Cape Flats: its image refers to *no man’s land*. Politicians in the 1980s treated the argument with optimism as a great solution to the growing wave of immigration²⁷⁰, but the subject created strong discussion and protests since the beginning. “The state has tried to sell Khayelitsha as a benevolent gift to the African people of Cape Town – a positive response to the chronic housing shortage. Critics has damned the concept as a blatant step to adapt apartheid in order to maintain control” (Van Heerden and Evans 1985, 2).

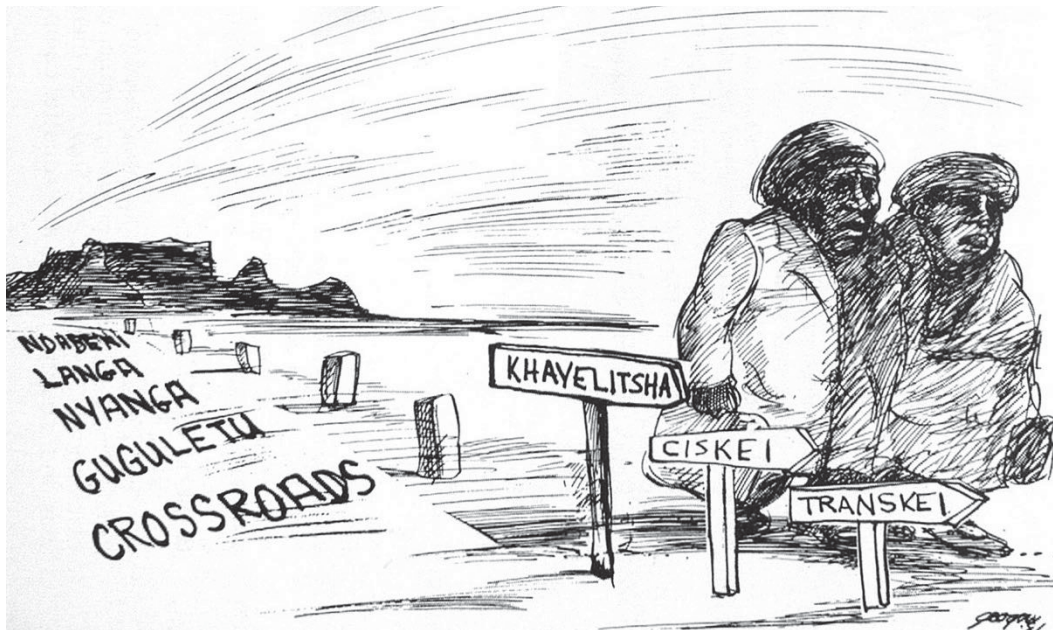


Fig. 50: Black people have been pushed away from CT centre²⁷¹

²⁶⁹ IsiXhosa is the predominant language of the residents in Khayelitsha.

²⁷⁰ In the 1960s and early 1970s the economic boom of the Cape determined the rise of the flow of rural migrants into Cape Town. Data from the inter-provincial migration shows that the largest flow of migrations to the Western Cape is from the Eastern Cape: <http://datalens.org> (retrieved June 9, 2017).

²⁷¹ This image has been taken from the following red pamphlet: Burton et al. 1984. IsiXhosa version in the BC 1065 collection – Mary Burton papers (SASH), B.5.6.2 Khayelitsha, 1983-1988 – English version in the BC 1051 collection – Don Cleminshaw, *N2, Crossroads and Khayelitsha 1979-1983* (Special Collections Library, UCT, all rights reserved).

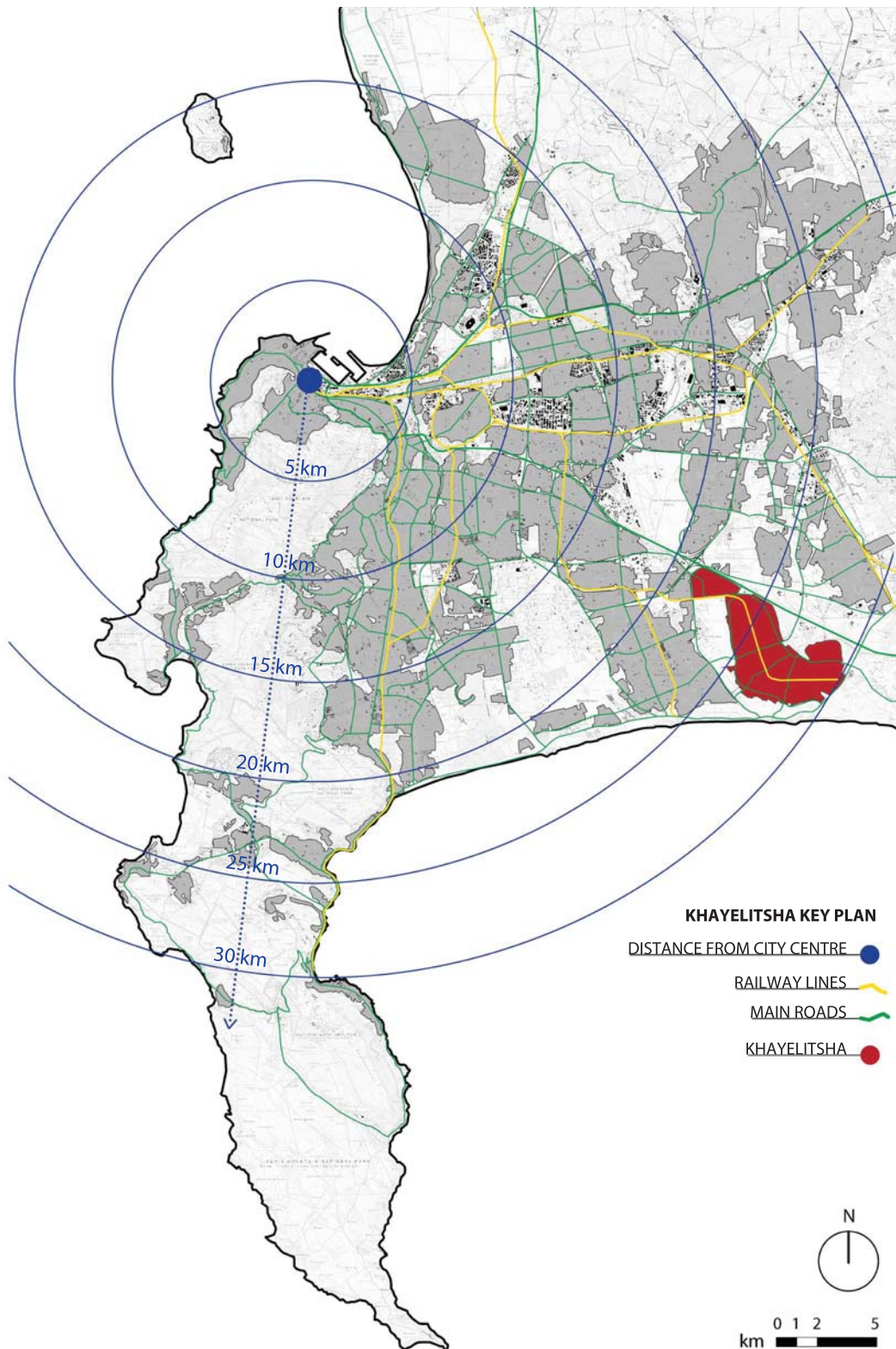


Fig. 51: Khayelitsha key plan²⁷², by M. Bodino, 2018

²⁷² The map shows the position of Khayelitsha relative to the city centre. The map has used the 2010 NGI maps (Figure 25).

Expectation and reality clashed. These contrast feelings are visible comparing following images: a man finally has a formal house to stay, but the settlement in which the house is located has no urban nor human features (Figures 52 - 53).



Fig. 52: Interior of a permanent home in Khayelitsha, 1984²⁷³



Fig. 53: Alienated environment of Khayelitsha²⁷⁴

²⁷³ This photo has been consulted in the Independent Media Photographic Archive – *S15D*, *Khayelitsha Aerials view only* (Special Collections Library, UCT, all rights reserved). The photo has been use in the Argus newspaper with the following text: “The cramped interior of a Khayelitsha house [...] Khayelitsha residents living temporarily in tin huts move next week into the township’s first permanent homes – which are too small to take standard furniture, the say” (September 6, 1984).

Exactly three months after the Government announcement, Khayelitsha proposal has been defined as a *recipe for social and economic disaster*²⁷⁵ by Professor David Dewar and Vanessa Watson (working at Urban Problem Research Unit UPRU²⁷⁶) in an Argus article, 30th June 1983. The supposed relocation of all Africans from squatters – in particular from KTC and Crossroads – and already existing townships of the City has been evaluated in the Argus article from a planning perspective. The consequences predicted has been described as “the combined effect of high rents, high transport costs, high commuting, inadequate social and recreational facilities and isolation from the rest of the city, on a group of people already experiencing severe social and economic problems”. According to UPRU, the creation of Khayelitsha couldn’t be justified in planning terms since it “will cost the Government many millions of rands to build. The money would be infinitely better spent on upgrading the existing townships and building more housing on nearby, better located land, of which there is a considerable amount” (Surplus Peoples Project 1984, 101). The planning of the new township took three weeks²⁷⁷, and more than three decades after its construction²⁷⁸, the local government is still struggling to fix the predicted planning disaster. The creation and development of Khayelitsha can be understood just examining “its history of an African township on the outermost fringe of an apartheid city” (Conyngham et al. 2016, 4).

The position of Khayelitsha 30 km away from the city centre is a rational decision in line with the modern development of that time. Seen within the paradigm of apartheid, the main planning reason to locate Khayelitsha so far away has been to control and secure the privileged class, reinforcing the policy of separate development. Changing the frame of reference and looking at the creation of the new township in terms of spatial justice, right to the city and inclusion, the choice of the Khayelitsha location is its main planning problem. It can be considered the reason of many consequent problems for the residents. Local narration described that the then-Prime Minister of South Africa P.W.

²⁷⁴ The cover of the book *Khayelitsha. New home – old story* represents the desolation of an open land with single-storey small housing blocks. The same image is used to introduce the Khayelitsha chapter (Surplus Peoples Project, 1984, p. 74). In the copy consulted at the UCT library a pencil note relates the image with the phrase *no man’s land*.

²⁷⁵ The article *Khayelitsha: recipe for disaster* has been originally published in The Argus newspaper on June 30, 1983 (Dewar and Watson 1983) and has been reproduced in the Surplus Peoples Project publication (Surplus Peoples Project, 1984, pp. 99-103).

²⁷⁶ UPRU “was established at the University of Cape Town in 1975 to work on specific aspects of the housing problem in the Cape Peninsula” (Dewar and Uytienbogaardt 1977). Roelof S. Uytienbogaardt, David Dewar, Roger Behrens, Vanessa Watson were members of the research team. Many relevant publications have been printed around urban planning problems during apartheid. UPRU raised money from various private financiers, it lasted until the 1990s, when the experience ended because of founding problems (interview with Vanessa Watson 2017).

²⁷⁷ “It appears that the state’s approach has been to build Khayelitsha as quickly as possible” (Van Heerden, Evans 1985, 29).

²⁷⁸ “Construction started in May 1983” (Conyngham et al. 2016, 4).

Botha decided the location taking a helicopter flight²⁷⁹, pointing downwards over the Cape Flats, indicating an area called *drift sands* beyond Mitchell's Plain coloured township. No warning regarding the suitability of that area has been mentioned: the area was an open sandy land, an aquifer crossed only by some footpaths (Figure 54). "Government authorities have justified the location of Khayelitsha as being the most feasible area for development, as land closer to Cape Town [was] not available. This has been proved to be false. A report by the city council shows that another 300,000 people could be located within the boundaries of Cape Town – if one disregards Group Areas" (Van Heerden and Evans 1985, 2). Clearly, an upgrading approach of suitable and better situated areas would have been contrasting with segregation intentions, strengthened to the ripple effect of the 1976 Soweto uprising in Johannesburg and local resistance against apartheid. Khayelitsha has been conceived to become the only African township in Greater Cape Town²⁸⁰. Its planning reflects the rules of the apartheid city and it has been ideally located to maintain control over the black populace: "built on ground belonging to the South African Defence Force" (Van Heerden and Evans 1985, 16) and surrounded by buffer zones. Even the coloured township of Mitchell's Plain was used as a buffer zone between black and white areas²⁸¹.



Fig. 54: Mitchell's Plain map, 1983²⁸²

²⁷⁹ "No doubt, a certain amount of press sensationalism is involved in the story, but the speed with which the shift in policy took place and the planning of the new township was completed is nothing short of remarkable" (Van Heerden, Evans 1985, 13).

²⁸⁰ In reality, it has just become the biggest African township of the city. The oldest ones (e.g. Langa, Nyanga, Guguletu) continue to exist, although Khayelitsha is commonly reputed to be the largest and fastest growing township in South Africa. Retrieved May 17, 2017: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Khayelitsha>.

²⁸¹ "The security implications of a voteless, possibly increasingly hungry, unemployed, badly-housed mass of people within the city is serious for the privileged minority. So Coloured are being literally used to form a buffer between whites and Africans in Cape Town" (Surplus Peoples Project, 1984, p. 98).

²⁸² Portion of South Africa 1:50'000 sheet, 341BA Mitchell's Plain, fifth edition, 1983. The map has been consulted in the National Geo-spatial Information (NGI) office in Cape Town.

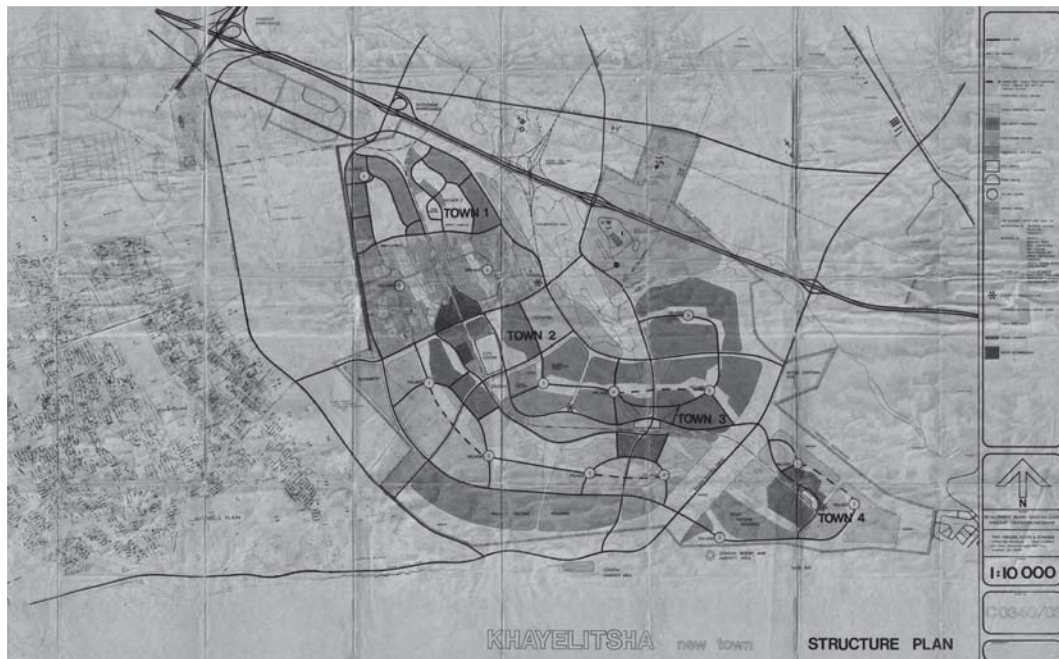


Fig. 55: Khayelitsha new town structure plan, 1994²⁸³

“The township has been planned in such a way that there is only one major entrance which can be sealed off in times of *emergency*” (Van Heerden and Evans 1985, 16). The buffer zones around the township can be spatially identified as follows. The Cape Corps²⁸⁴ were located to its north, the Armscor factory and testing ground²⁸⁵ to the north-west, a wetland to the west and the False Bay Atlantic Ocean coastline to the south. The N2 highway defined the infrastructure barrier from north to north-east, Mew Way Road from west to south-west, while Baden Powell Drive demarcated the east and south border. This overall organization is visible in the planning drawings (Figure 55) as well as in the actual configuration of the development (see Figure 58 and Figure 59). Just a minor part of later developments and informal settlements exceed the original scheme limit. The plan shows clearly the affinity with the CSIR diagram (see Figure 17), in which the development has been conceived in separate districts (called towns) and internal communities (called villages) and neighbourhoods.

²⁸³ 1:10'000 (Development Board Western Cape 1994). The map has been consulted at the UCT Government publication department library (all right reserved).

²⁸⁴ The area is currently a military zone.

²⁸⁵ This contaminated land – currently zone as agricultural land (retrieved May 17, 2017, <http://emap.capetown.gov.za/egispbdm/>) – has been recently sold to ACSA airport company to be used and developed for educational, offices and residential purposes (interviews 2017). At the moment, the project has not been presented yet, but the risk of a market-driven investment with little impact to the disadvantaged communities around it is really high. The potential of the development as integrated and inclusive is undeniable, thanks to its geographical position: the land has been an historic buffer zone between coloured and black people.

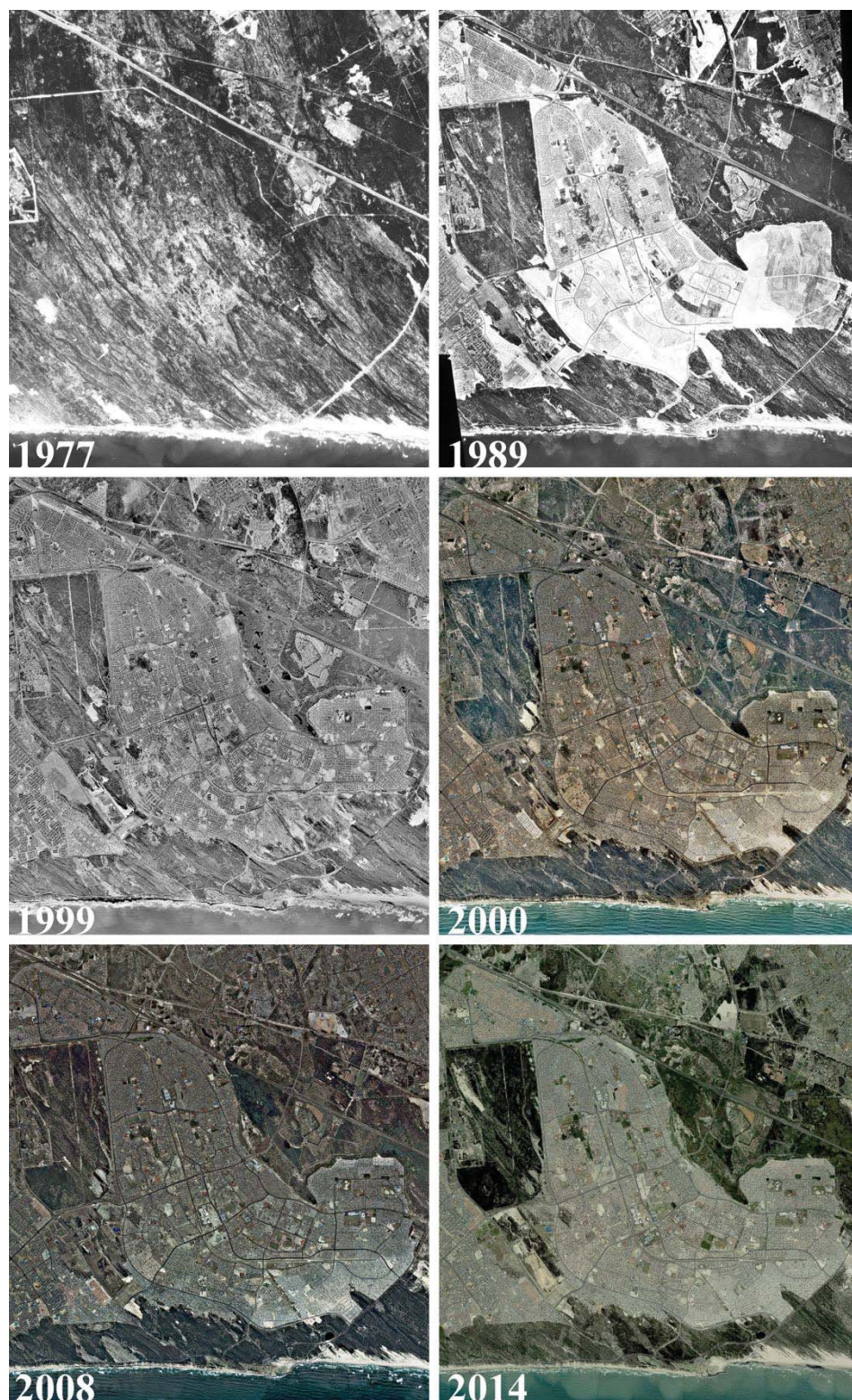


Fig. 56: Khayelitsha evolution, by M. Bodino, 2017²⁸⁶

²⁸⁶ Aerial maps of Khayelitsha. Data source: National Geo-spatial Information (NGI) Department. (Retrieved by NGI office March 3, 2016).

Looking at the economic perspective, the position of Khayelitsha and the absence of economic activity on site determine a pre-set subordinate position with central Cape Town. In fact, “no sites have been set aside within Khayelitsha for industrial purposes” (Smit *et al.* 2016, 199). Moreover, the forced removals and the division of legal and illegal residents had devastating effect socially, breaking the existing community relations, especially important in the poorer groups. In addition, from its beginning Khayelitsha had no chance of becoming a city, in the sense of including a full range of living, working and recreational activities. The assertion by UPRU in 1984 is severe: “in no way, from a planning perspective, can Khayelitsha be called a city. It will be no more than a poorly services labour dormitory and it will do little to promote a rich quality of life. [...] It has been specifically planned as a dormitory suburb [since it has been designed exclusively for low income communities who are] unable to generate sufficient resource to support viably and adequate level of social and commercial infrastructure” (Dewar and Watson 1984, 26-28).

The promise of formality played a crucial role in the advertising Khayelitsha: images comparing a shack with a single-storey house²⁸⁷ promoted the stereotype of formal as legal, better and clean. These common associations were used to convince both legal and illegal Black residents to catch the opportunity for a better new life and to move in the legal new township. According to the government, people moved there *voluntary*²⁸⁸; in reality, they had no other choice. The contrast between the positive formal image transmitted and the reality of a sandy open land formally used as a dormitory is clear reading municipal publications, news articles, pamphlets of local organizations, photos and diagrams²⁸⁹. Analysing these documents, the fragility of the term *formal* begins to crack. The first shocking aerial photographs show that formality doesn’t mean automatically quality, rather the opposite (e.g. Figure 57). No one at the time reflected – or simply was interested – on the potential design disaster of repeating single-storey small houses one next to the other to accommodate up to 250,000 homes²⁹⁰.

²⁸⁷ The image described has been consulted in the BC 1051 collection – Don Cleminshaw, N2, Crossroads and Khayelitsha 1979-1983. (Special Collections Library, UCT, all rights reserved).

²⁸⁸ About the so-called voluntary removals see the following pamphlet consulted in the BC 1051 collection – Don Cleminshaw, N8, “voluntary removals” 1984-1985: Black Sash Project, *The myth of voluntary removal*, Johannesburg Transvaal Rural Action Committee (TRAC), 2001. (Special Collections Library, UCT, all rights reserved).

²⁸⁹ The majority of these sources have been consulted in the UCT libraries. The *good* and the *bad* features are compared in a paper prepared by the Crossroads Co-ordinating Committee to “give a picture of what Khayelitsha really is like”. BC 1051 collection – Don Cleminshaw, N2, *Crossroads and Khayelitsha 1979-1983* (Special Collections Library, UCT, all rights reserved).

²⁹⁰ “The official policy is to build 250,000 homes by the end of the century” (Van Heerden, Evans 1985, 19). Some contradictory data says that Khayelitsha was planned to host 250,000 people, and not homes (Burton et al. 1984).

In addition, the planned new town would not be nearly enough to accommodate the then *legal* African population of Cape Town. Optimistically it would accommodate the natural growth of its population (Van Heerden and Evans 1985, 19-20). The housing strategy consisted of the establishment of repetitive single one-storey houses²⁹¹. The maximisation of a limited potential of the small, narrow, and restricted sites was poorly designed as an engineer problem²⁹² and the desire of a higher density was promoted through the introduction of smaller than usual site sizes (Settlement Studies and Development Planning Group 1985). As a consequence, the alienated environment of the township has been implemented with the creation of a monotonous dormitory environment of little, poor and simple huts, without adequate sociological data or information of the future households.



Fig. 57: Khayelitsha lack of urbanity, 1985²⁹³

²⁹¹ Housing delivery alternatives were given, but the principle was to create immediate shelter for the lowest income families. Therefore, the approach was to give the minimum, stating that it would be flexible to satisfy a wide variety of family requirements.

²⁹² Many options were composed starting from core unit to define the evolution of individual size types and the maximum site utilization. Four options plot sizes of residential were in place during the Phase 1 of the Khayelitsha development: 128 m², 162 m², 160 m², 180 m², with respectively plot's dimensions: 9x16 m, 9x18 m, 10x16 m, 10x18 m. (Settlement Studies and Development Planning Group 1985, 57-67).

²⁹³ This photo (May 5, 1985) reveals the lack of urbanity of the township in its repetition of small houses. It has been consulted in the Independent Media Photographic Archive – *SI5D*, *Khayelitsha – aerial views only* (Special Collections Library, UCT, all rights reserved).

The proposed housing strategy for the first phase of development pivoted on the concept of self-help house, starting with a *core* or *starter* house. “Core houses were built to residents who had legal permission to be in Cape Town and serviced sites were provided for illegals residents to build shacks on” (Smit *et al.* 2016, 199). On one hand, the promotion of self-help housing reflected the impossibility from the central government to provide proper houses for each family and the shift of financial responsibility to the residents (Van Heerden and Evans 1985, 23). On the other hand, according to UPRU, the self-help housing approach had no chance of success for the lack of these fundamental pre-conditions (Dewar and Watson 1983)²⁹⁴:

- the self-help housing must be a voluntary choice - it cannot be imposed
- the self-help approach demands security of tenure
- a primary justification for self-help housing is that it should be cheaper for the owner
- the approach is considered as a cheap way to the housing problem. In reality, if correctly implemented, is not cheaper since it requires extra effort and expenditure in the sphere of public spaces, community facilities and so on, to create a positive urban environment (minimum attention has been given to those aspects)
- the successful implementation is dependent upon community organization and mutual aid, and it is a difficult and time-consuming task

Moreover, in the first planning phases there has been no reflections about the possibility to foresee or allow informal interventions also in the new formal areas, to completion of the sterile formal settlement provided by the City. The promise of 99-year leasehold was introduced to contain unrests and protests, and to justify the controversial choice of self-help house²⁹⁵, allowing people “to have some form of assurance of permanency” (Van Heerden and Evans 1985, 26). Khayelitsha become the new home also for illegal Africans. The first²⁹⁶ temporary accommodation for illegal migrants was established in the area called Site C (see Figure 59): then site-and-service plots were incorporated in the plan. The area was used as a transit camp for the transfer of illegals to rural areas. Nevertheless,

²⁹⁴ Additional reflections around these pre-conditions were made by Van Heerden and Evans (1985, 27-29). Nevertheless, there has been no reflections about the possibility to foresee informal interventions also in the new formal areas, to completion of the sterile formal settlement provided by the City.

²⁹⁵ The 99-year leasehold has been used by World Bank in these years in other parts of the world. In fact, in the 1970s the in situ upgrading approach to informal settlement began to develop internationally, which included self-housing processes, provision of infrastructure and of sites-and-services projects “as a replacement of traditional slum clearance and public housing approached” (Cirolia *et al.* 2016, 28) which were failing. The international lessons of informal settlement upgrading are discussed by Warren Smit in the chapter 2 (Cirolia *et al.* 2016, 27-48).

²⁹⁶ In November 1984.

“these shack settlements became soon permanent” (Muyeba 2014, 4). Furthermore, informal activities appeared to supply the missing basic services and to provide some form of income. Due to the removal of the influx controls at the end of the 1980s and also, due to the abolition of CLPP in 1984, shacks mushroomed all around. “They were erected on un-serviced sites and on any available open space both in Site C and other areas of Khayelitsha [...] The population increased without the increase in serviced sites” (Muyeba 2014, 4). Muyeba estimated that 36% of the population lived in shacks in the late 1990. In the post-apartheid period, RDP policy provided subsidy to low income households. Despite of the limitless waiting list, the chaotic allocation and the occurrence of fraud and corruption, a great amount of RDP houses have been constructed in Khayelitsha and the non-beneficiaries simultaneously remain on serviced and un-serviced sites (Muyeba 2014, 4-6). RDP housing policy produced humble homes in order to guarantee the right to housing of the new constitution. On the urban design point of view, RDP policy has reproduced the apartheid spatial segregation. Since South Africa’s transition to democracy, one of the most tangible changes has been also the rapid growth of informal settlements. As a result, within a few decades, the utopian idea of a formal new town has been transformed in a dense cluster of both formal and informal urban texture.



Fig. 58: Khayelitsha map, 2010²⁹⁷

The overall situation of Khayelitsha is visible in Figures 58 and 59. The shape of the settlement reflects the original plan (see Figure 55), with the addition of the Site C district – which has become permanent. Khayelitsha can be divided in 10 districts²⁹⁸.

²⁹⁷ Zoom of the Cape Town map 2010. Data source: National Geo-spatial Information (NGI) Department (retrieved by NGI office March 3, 2016).

²⁹⁸ The districts do not correspond with the wards and has been recently included in the “Area 2” according to the area-based service delivery areas.



Fig. 59: Khayelitsha map, by M. Bodino, 2018

The train line²⁹⁹ in a central position connects the township to the CBD and has been part of the planning since the beginning, but it has been realized in phases. The buffer zones all around remain evident, confirming the spatial segregation of the settlement.

²⁹⁹ The *Central Line* serves Khayelitsha and Mitchell's Plain as well as a route to Bellville via Sarepta (retrieved May 17, 2017, <http://cttrains.co.za>). The train connection demonstrates the dependency of the white elite to the black low-skilled labourers residing in the far periphery and with no means to afford private transportation. Indeed, the *sausage* shape of the township has been informed by the maximum walkable distance (considered about 1,5 km) from the railway line in the centre and the edges of the settlement.

Khayelitsha represents the largest concentration of poverty in the city taking into account rates of unemployment and informal dwellings. According to Conyngham et al. (2016), 56% of the population lives in informal housing or backyard shacks and rooms. As a result, the housing environment³⁰⁰ in Khayelitsha is composed by the superposition of:

- *formal housing* (Figure 60): single-storey houses, created during the township planning or RDP subsidized houses. They can be owned or rented. They can be extended or surrounded with backyard shacks. They normally have concrete block or brick walls and metal sheet roofing. In some situation, it is not easy to distinguish the original formal housing from new buildings constructed informally. Within formal housing it can be considered also the category of *rentable apartments* – a new type of privately developed, rentable housing. They represent the few double-storey buildings³⁰¹ usually composed by small single room flats and shared toilets
- *backyard shacks* (Figure 61): most of them are rented rooms, typically made of wood frame and wooden or metal cladding. Since they are constructed in the property of subsidized houses, they are dependent on the formal house services (water, toilet, electricity)
- *shacks in informal settlement*³⁰² (Figure 62): these houses are built in areas that have not been planned to host a settlement, they are often at the edges of the formal areas. Basic services in these areas are partially delivered by municipality (communal taps, chemical toilets and electricity is not always guarantee)

The first two categories are organized within the planned area, and therefore are placed within a clear and still visible grid of streets and rectangular plots. In contrast, the informal settlement has a more organic and less determined development. Its growth happened following needs of people, with a bottom-up process of mediation and coordination: formal development doesn't mean the lack of rules, but it means the lack of external formal rules (Figure 63).

³⁰⁰ Very little data are available about other activities since most of them are informal.

³⁰¹ They can also be single-storey buildings, but since the objective is to maximize the space, it is more common the option of two floors. They also normally occupy the entire plot – or almost.

³⁰² Informal areas are represented as blue areas in Figure 59.



Fig. 60: Formal house³⁰³, 2016



Fig. 61: Backyard shack³⁰⁴, 2016

³⁰³ This photo has been taken from the author in Dunoon (February 23, 2016), but it shows a standard RDP house which can be free in its plot, surrounded by backyard shacks or extended. In the back is visible also a double-storey building.

³⁰⁴ This photo has been taken from the author in Dunoon (February 23, 2016): it represents a very typical situation in the townships and poorest neighbourhoods.



Fig. 62: Shacks in an informal settlement³⁰⁵, 2016



Fig. 63: Shack in an informal settlement³⁰⁶, 2016

³⁰⁵ This photo has been taken from the author in Endlovini, the informal area south of Harare neighbourhood in Khayelitsha (March 20, 2017).

³⁰⁶ The aerial photo used has been extracted from *maps* (Apple). Retrieved November 9, 2018. On the left side is visible the informal settlement of Endlovini, while on the right side is visible the Harare neighbourhood in Khayelitsha where small houses are organized according to the planned area. Those housing are often surrounded by shacks, or have been extended according to the need of the inhabitants.

5.2.2 Public Space in Khayelitsha

The description of Khayelitsha formation and evolution is essential to understand the unbuilt space, and consequently the existing or potential public open space. The following diagrams show a portion of Harare district (Figure 64 and Figure 65) within Khayelitsha that does not include any planned public space. The analysed portion includes also the Endlovini informal settlement south of Mew Wey Road. The planned infrastructure (Figure 66) provides a typical suburban sprawl area characterised by low density, monofunctional and car-dependent community. Each single-storey house lies in its small plot without any hierarchy (Figure 67). In addition, no relationship between the street and the house/ private space is defined apart from providing car access to each plot. With this approach, pedestrian movement is not considered. The diagrams 68 and 69 show how extensions and backyard shacks densify the formal built space (normally within the formal plots) and, simultaneously, how informal settlement grew organically south of Mew Way Road and along it.

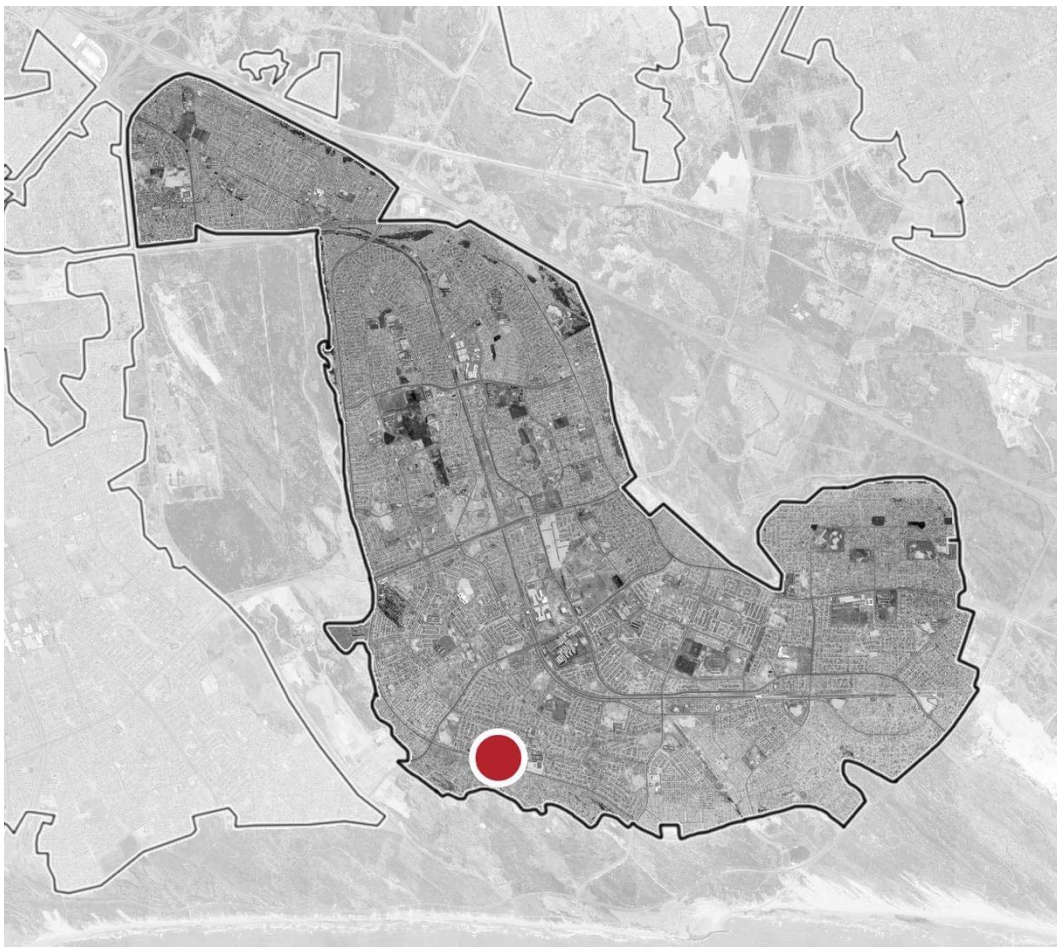


Fig. 64: Area of analysis: key plan, by M. Bodino³⁰⁷

³⁰⁷ Aerial map of Khayelitsha (2014). Data source: National Geo-spatial Information (NGI) Department. (Retrieved by NGI office March 3, 2016).



Fig. 65: Portion of Harare. Aerial photo, 2014³⁰⁸

³⁰⁸ Aerial map of Khayelitsha. Data source: National Geo-spatial Information (NGI) Department. (Retrieved by NGI office March 3, 2016).

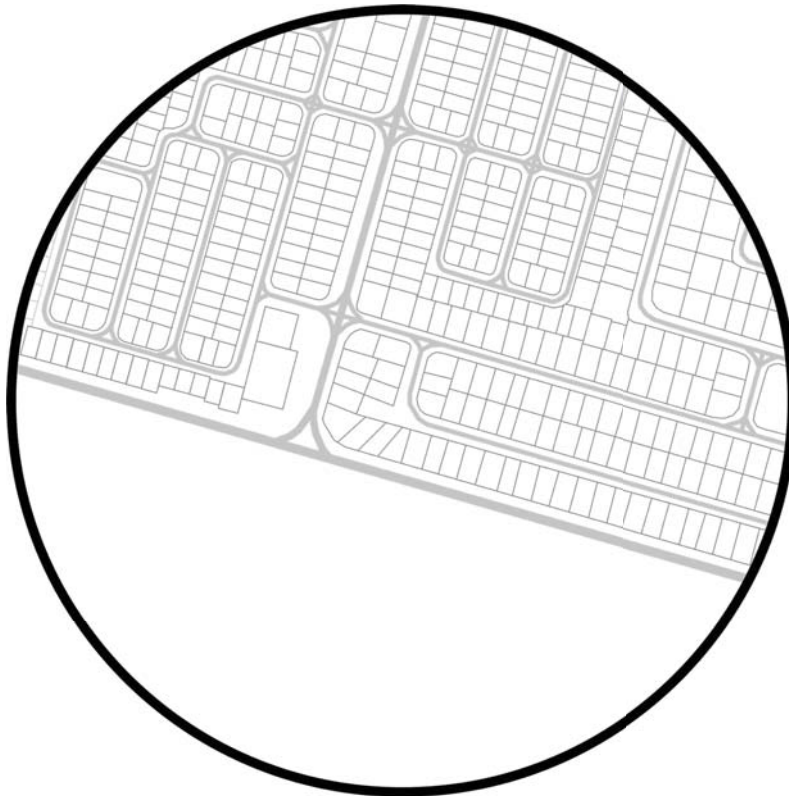


Fig. 66: Infrastructure diagram, by M. Bodino, 2018

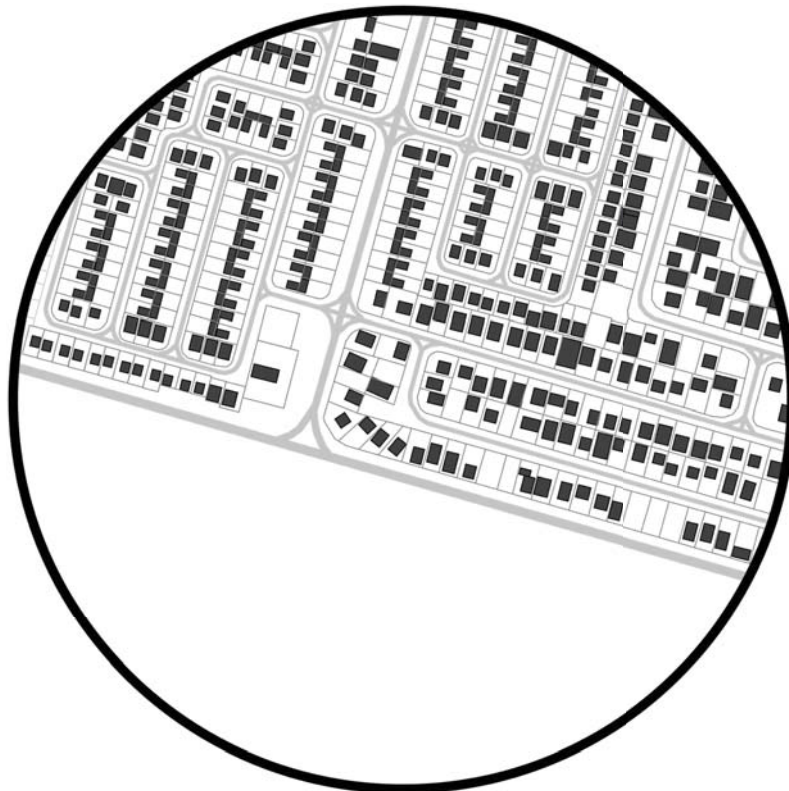


Fig. 67: Formal housing, by M. Bodino, 2018

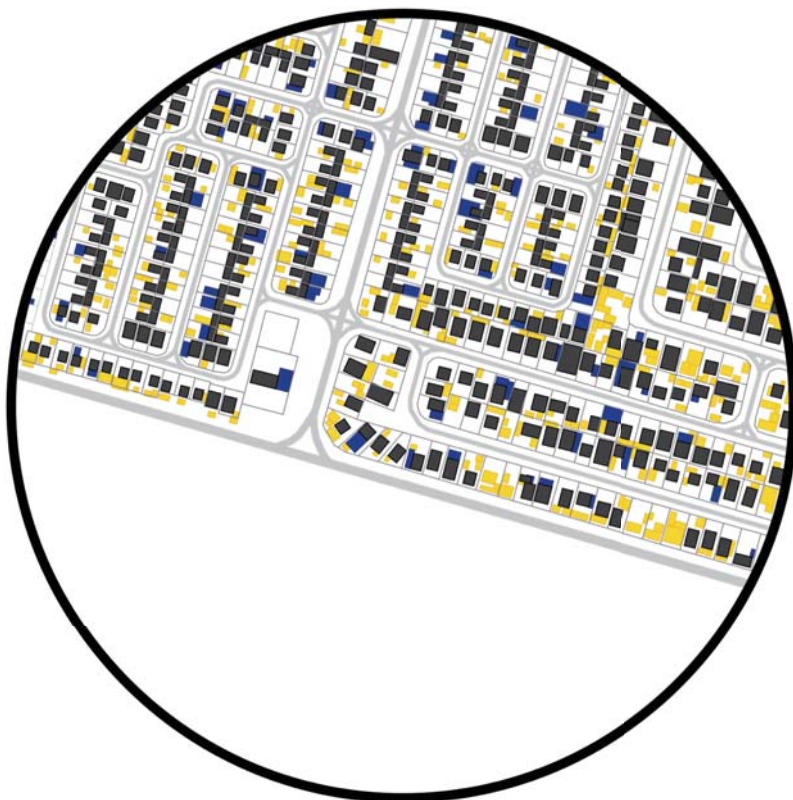


Fig. 68: Extensions (blue), backyard-shacks (yellow), by M. Bodino, 2018



Fig. 69: Informal settlements, by M. Bodino, 2018

The density is slightly higher along main routes. Small shops and commercial activities, denied during the apartheid, mushroomed all around occupying containers, shacks and extended spaces along the more popular streets in order to answer to local needs and to provide little profit for local inhabitants³⁰⁹. According Barosky, “the apartheid government deliberately did not provide adequate services and infrastructure to the township as it sought to limit the number of *legal* black urban residents” (2014, 9).

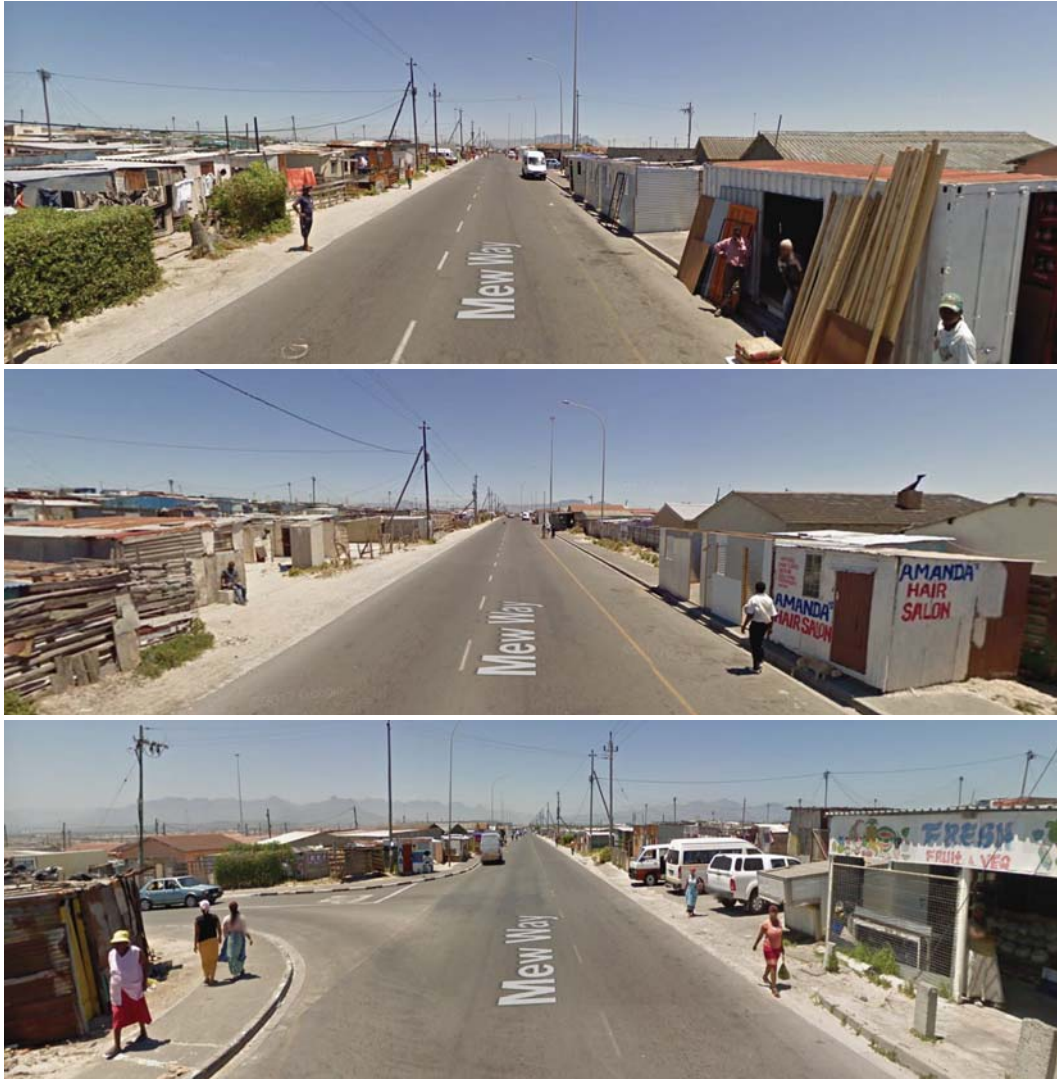


Fig. 70: Google street view images, by Google, 2009³¹⁰

³⁰⁹ In the first image, a container is used to stock prefabricated panels sold to build shacks. In the other images, a hair salon and fruit and vegetable retailer are visible on the right.

³¹⁰ Image capture November 2009. Copyright Google 2018. The first two images have Endlovini informal settlement on the right side of the figure and Harare on the left side (opposite situation for the third image). February 28 2018. Retrieved from:

<https://www.google.it/maps/@34.060287,18.667805,3a,75y,279.62h,79.46t/data=!3m6!1e1!3m4!1sVx3RvswQupYfGV7WVXmwgA!2e0!7i13312!8i6656>

The figure-ground diagram and its elaborations (Figure 71, 72 and 73) demonstrate the scattered feature of the settlement, hence these figures are useful to abstract some concepts about public open space in townships as Khayelitsha. The unbuilt space was not thought together with the built space, and this phenomenon is very common in many other contemporary urban environments all over the world. The potential public open space is visible in figure 73, where the unfenced space³¹¹ (for the formal area) and the unbuilt space (for the informal area) are pointed out. The public open space is unexpectedly more interesting in the informal settlement where the unbuilt space serves directly the built space³¹². The scale of the two public spatial patterns is different, but in both there is no hierarchy. In fact, informality works at a smaller scale. Firstly, the location of the shacks depends on the negotiations between people about their habits, activities and their experience about issues like fire, weather and so on. Secondly, space value is extraordinarily high as the accessibility to a piece of it could represent an income. Even if in informal areas there is an informal organization of habitants³¹³, it is very rare to find big open spaces. Instead, it is quite more common the find small open spaces which are shared and used for different activities.

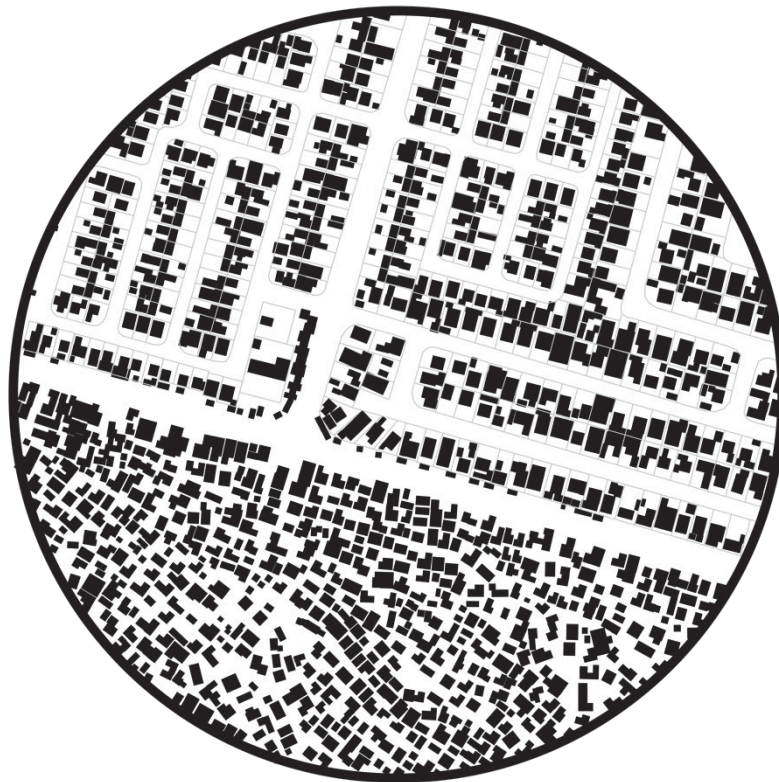


Fig. 71: Figure-ground diagram – built space in black, by M. Bodino, 2018

³¹¹ The fenced space corresponds to the private space therefore the unfenced is the space which is potentially public open space.

³¹² Considering that most of the formal buildings are housing, they have not designed to have a relationship with the space around them.

³¹³ It is quite common to have community leaders as reference points.

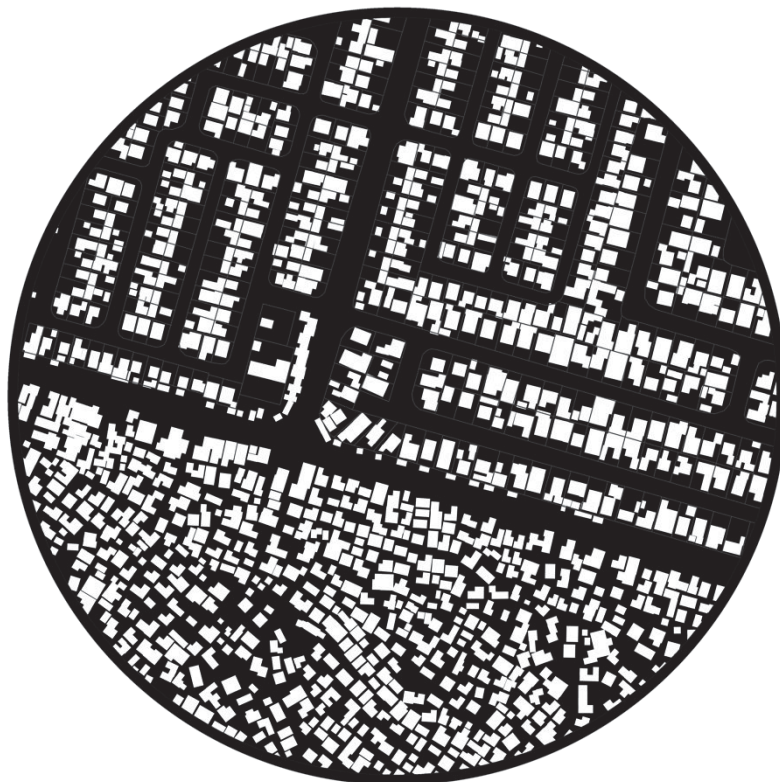


Fig. 72: Unbuilt space in black, by M. Bodino, 2018



Fig. 73: Potential public open space, by M. Bodino, 2018

Using Dewar's words, the streets have been designed as road and not as the primarily form of public space (Le Grange 1994, UN-Habitat 2013 among others). The programmatic elements of a city have been provided, by without the backbone to keep them together. In fact, there is no hierarchy in the settlement, no reference building in the monotonous environment. The boundary between public and private are not spatially defined. In fact, housings were usually built in the middle of the plot and not necessarily aligned. The edge of the private property is generally defined by an enclosure, rarely by a green fence. Because of high crime rate in the whole Cape Town, this enclosure between public roads and the private space symbolises the will of separation. Walls are as high – and strong and impenetrable – as possible. As a consequence, walking in a township street means to walk within blind walls where physical and spatial separation is stressed. This feeling exacerbates the perception of fear and insecurity. On the contrary, the informal economy has all the interest to be open towards the street. Spatially it occupies the edges between private and public. The main objective of the economic activity is to be visible by the street, where commercial opportunity can happen. At the same time, one of the main consequence is that the economic activity itself activate the street, increasing a feeling of security and “eyes on the streets”³¹⁴.

The archival research and the interviews investigated proof of public buildings or public spaces in the plan of Khayelitsha. The photos collected in the Independent Media Photographic Archive show green space areas visible during the Khayelitsha construction (Figure 74). These spaces were partially open spaces at the service of public buildings, such as schools; and partially open spaces defined as parks (Figure 75) or sport facilities, one of the few forms of public open space planned for black people. The comparison with actual aerial photographs and satellite images³¹⁵ shows that most of the green spaces of the 1990s are currently abandoned or filled with housing. The few green spaces remaining are the ones at the service of public buildings (normally sport fields for schools), which cannot be considered as public open space since they are fenced. The use (and maintenance) of those spaces is dependent to the structure linked to them. According to the landscape architect Klitzner, “the same pattern of the bigger city is repeated at the scale of Khayelitsha” (interview 2017). In other words, the buffer zones around Khayelitsha have been repeated within the township through the creation of two water systems, that drain towards the ocean; the railway line in the same direction and Spine Road cutting the settlement in the

³¹⁴ The expression has been used during author's interviews with Michael Krause, Nicola Irving, Julian Cooke among others. It is also used in the VPUU manual (Krause *et al.* 2014, 47).

³¹⁵ Extremely useful for this analysis has been the use of the 3d application of Maps (Apple). This tool allows to see Khayelitsha township with a bird eye view and analyse it with different angles. However, it is not possible to understand the exact timing of image capture that has been used to shape the virtual three-dimensional model.

opposite direction. Therefore, the creation of open parks was conceived to solve only a hydrological problem and not to provide public open spaces for the community. As a consequence, these spaces became soon no man's land, litter spaces or areas controlled by gangs. These spaces quickly shift from potential meeting and inclusive spaces to conflict zone (De Leo 2016). At the same time, space is not the only reason of neglect or failure of these spaces: economic, social and political aspects should also be considered.

The sandy land on which Khayelitsha has been founded makes it difficult to use open spaces, because of the presence of strong winds that raise the sand³¹⁶ (Figure 76). As described in the chapter 3.2.1, the access to quality public spaces was denied to non-white people. In townships, few fenced and separate areas where labelled public spaces, but they didn't have the essence nor the quality of city centre public spaces. Within this urban fabric a poor design mix of public facilities was scattered all around and fenced to be easily controlled and defendable (schools, CoCT offices, police stations...). During apartheid, gatherings were discouraged or even prohibited in order to maintain control. At a certain point, streets became social gathering to protest during apartheid (e.g. Soweto uprising). They simply were the only place in which a large amount of people could meet. Especially in the first years of 1990s, when protests against the apartheid system started to spread all over South Africa, streets finally have been used as public spaces. Images of riots and of dispersed marches have been captured in Khayelitsha (Figure 77) as well as in many other South African townships. This research is not interested in the violence of these events. At the same time, for the first time, major streets in the townships have been use as a place of meeting, as a place to exchange ideas and to denounce common inequalities.

The overall distribution of public facilities within Khayelitsha is described through maps in Chapter 5.3.3, where it will be shown how the public structure was organized at the end of 1990s and how it has been developed in the last two decades (Figure 78 and Figure 79).

³¹⁶ It has to be considered that most of the pavements in Khayelitsha have never been paved.



Fig. 74: Aerial photo of Khayelitsha construction, 1990³¹⁷



Fig. 75: A park and core housing units in Khayelitsha, 1985³¹⁸

³¹⁷ This photo has been consulted in the Independent Media Photographic Archive – *S15D, Khayelitsha – aerial views only* (Special Collections Library, UCT, all rights reserved). “Khayelitsha, desert”. February 20, 1990.

³¹⁸ This photo has been consulted in the Independent Media Photographic Archive – *S15D, Khayelitsha File 3, 1989-1992* (Special Collections Library, UCT, all rights reserved). “A park and core housing units in Khayelitsha. Planning for the parks includes provision of play equipment, seating, pergolas, trees and shrubs”, May 2, 1985.



Fig. 76: Sandy roads in Khayelitsha, 1990³¹⁹



Fig. 77: Street used to protest, 1990³²⁰

³¹⁹ This photo (April 11, 1990) has been consulted in the Independent Media Photographic Archive – *S15D, Khayelitsha File 3, 1989-1992* (Special Collections Library, UCT, all rights reserved).

³²⁰ This photo has been consulted in the Independent Media Photographic Archive – *S15D, Khayelitsha - Unrest* (Special Collections Library, UCT, all rights reserved). “Thousands of people walk down Mew Way on their way home after a gathering was dispersed in Zola Budd Road”, October 26, 1990.

5.2.3 Demographic and socio-economic conditions

As reminded in the previous chapters, space is one fundamental component of urban context, but not the only one. Therefore, to avoid determinism, it is important to trace the most relevant demographic and socio-economic conditions of Khayelitsha³²¹.

The population of Khayelitsha as measured in the 2011 census (City of Cape Town 2013) is of 391,749 people³²², including 118,809 households over an area of 38.71 km². Consequently, the density – about 10,000 people per km² – is much higher than the rest of the metropolitan area. About 10.5% of the metropolitan population live in Khayelitsha, of which the overwhelming majority are Black African (98.62%) and isiXhosa speaking (90.54%)³²³. The NGO Social Justice Coalition estimate a population in 2014 of between 400,000 and 450,000 (with an average growth rate 2% annum). Since the majority of the population lives in informal settlement, it is likely that the number of residents is even higher. The population is very young, including 28.2% residents with less than 14 years old and 68.8% residents between 15 and 59 years³²⁴. Just 5% of the residents have a tertiary qualification and 50% have not completed Grande 12 (graduation year of high school)³²⁵.

Khayelitsha represents the largest concentration of poverty in the city taking into account rates of unemployment and informal dwellings. In 2011, the official unemployment rate of people aged 15 and above in Khayelitsha was 38%³²⁶ and 74% of households have a monthly income of 3,200 rands or less (City of Cape Town 2013)³²⁷. The 44% of the residents live in formal housing (made from brick

³²¹ Data presented in this chapter have been extracted comparing the following sources: Conyngham *et al.* 2016; Smit *et al.* 2016; Muyebe 2014; Pieterse 2010.

³²² In October 1983 Khayelitsha was composed of 5,000 core houses for 13,000 legal Africans and 8,300 squatter families occupying 4,150 site-and-service plots. In 1985 the population was about 150,000, while it reached about 189,000 in 1988. The 2001 census estimate a population of 329,013 people.

³²³ These data about Khayelitsha have been extracted by Adrian Frith, who used Statistics South Africa, 2011 census as the source of the basic data. Retrieved February 7, 2017. <https://census2011.adrianfrith.com/place/199038>.

³²⁴ Just the 3% of the population is over 60 years. This data reflects the national life expectancy, that is slightly above 60 years old. Retrieved June 9, 2017 <http://www.statssa.gov.za/?p=8176>.

³²⁵ It is estimated that Khayelitsha has 56,362 learners in 2014. “There are 33 public primary school, 19 public secondary school and a small scattering of independent schools” (Conyngham *et al.* 2016, 10).

³²⁶ The unemployment rate percentage varies by gender, being higher for females: 35% for males and 41% for females. The unemployment of boys and men under 23 years old grown reaches 50%, while it arrives at 40% considering boys and men under 26 years old (Conyngham *et al.* 2016, 11). Considering the expanded definition, which includes discouraged work seekers, the unemployment rate of Khayelitsha is 41.7% (Smit *et al.* 2016). The metropolitan rate of unemployment is 23.8% (City of Cape Town 2012).

³²⁷ “In 2011, the Khayelitsha median household income of 20,000 rands per annum was half that of Cape Town as a whole” (Conyngham *et al.* 2016, 11).

or concrete), 47% live in informal housing (1/3 of informal households in greater Cape Town), and 9% stay in backyard shacks and rooms. 65.4% of all Khayelitsha households have no access to piped water inside their homes (95% within informal ones), and 28.3% do not have access to flush toilets connected to the sewage system³²⁸ (Conyngham et al. 2016, 10-11).

Moreover, Khayelitsha holds one of the highest level of violence within the city³²⁹. Therefore, the exposure to violence is unfortunately very common, with young adults and women being the most affected categories. As an example, the author used the expression *street life* understood as “life as lived by ordinary people in urban streets” during interviews in Khayelitsha. It was intended as a favourable expression to understand the features of a positive public space to local people. Local young people explained that *street life* in a township is related to violence, guns, alcohol, knives... It has a negative meaning which associate violence to public open spaces in which people can be more vulnerable. Therefore, it is evident that these extreme levels of violence affect profoundly the use of public spaces and the sense of collective life³³⁰.

³²⁸ “In 2011, 8,000 households reported using bucket toilets and 12,000 had no toilet at all” (within approximately the 119,000 households of Khayelitsha) (Conyngham et al. 2016, 11)

³²⁹ “The highest homicide rates were recorded in the relatively impoverished sub-districts of Nyanga (132 per 100,000 people) and Khayelitsha (120 per 100,000 people)” (Cassidy *et al.* 2015, 2). “South Africa has unusually high levels of interpersonal violence which accounts for approximately 36 deaths per 100,000 people” (Cassidy *et al.* 2015, 1).

³³⁰ The sense of community and the sense of collective life are very different things. In many poor context, the sense of community is very strong and actually is one of the reason why people can live with such few resources.

5.3 VPUU programme³³¹

Violence is not the main topic of this thesis. At the same time, the issue of violence cannot be ignored when discussing about the role and the spatiality of public space in the suburbs of South African cities (Pinnock 2016). In fact, South Africa is still one of the most violent counties in the world and also one of the most unequal³³² (Cassidy *et al.* 2015, 2). The focus on this topic is neither new neither exclusive to South Africa. In fact, “UN-Habitat’s Safer Cities Programme was launched in 1996 at the request of African Mayors seeking to tackle urban crime and violence in their cities”³³³. Several studies have associated violence and inequality and others have dealt with the relationship between violence and space. The next section describes how environmental design has been researched in order to implement crime prevention.

5.3.1 Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design

In order to understand the Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading (VPUU) programme in Cape Town we need to frame the concept of crime prevention which started in 1970s. “The theory of crime prevention through environmental design is based on one simple idea – that crime results partly from the opportunity presented by physical environment” (Clarke 2012, 1). According to Clarke, there are three approaches to Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED), which will be briefly described.

- Jeffery (1971) coined the term CPTED using it as the title of his book. In contrast with criminologists of the time, he focused on biological and environmental determinants as causes of crime. For the first time, there was an attempt to use urban design against crime³³⁴
- the architect Newman (1972) wrote the *Defensible space* theory, which focuses on architectural design features connected to crime. He linked some design features of American public housings with their high crimes rates. According to Clarke, he was accused of “environmental determinism and of making simplistic extrapolations to human behaviour from the territorial behaviour of animals” (2012, 2)

³³¹ VPUU stands for Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading.

³³² “The relationship between inequality and violence has been explained using the concept that relative deprivation breeds social tensions [...] which then causes unrest and violence in these poorer areas” (Cassidy *et al.* 2015, 2).

³³³ <https://unhabitat.org/urban-initiatives/initiatives-programmes/safer-cities/> (retrieved March 20, 2018). Not by chance, the timeline explaining the VPUU programme and its beginning also starts in South Africa in 1996 with the introduction of the *National Crime Prevention Strategy* (Figure 82).

³³⁴ Jeffery defined “few prescriptions to reduce opportunities for crime in the built environment” (Clarke 2012, 1).

- “the third environmental design approach is *situational crime prevention*, which was developed by the British government’s criminological research department in the mid-1970s. [...] Unlike CPTED, and *defensible space*, this approach is not concerned principally with architectural design and the built environment. Nor is it focused mainly upon predatory offenses of robbery or burglary. Rather, it is a general approach to reducing the opportunities for any kind of crime, occurring in any kind of setting” (Clarke 2012, 2-3).

An additional theory regarding the perception of fear is the *broken window theory*, which is based on an article published in 1982 by Kelling and Wilson. The focus is on policing strategy, but the base concept has to do with space. In fact, the theory of broken window associates disorder and crime: “if a window in a building is broken and is left unrepaired, all the rest of the windows will soon be broken. [...] One unrepaired broken window is a signal that no one cares, and so breaking more windows costs nothing” (Kelling and Wilson 1982).

It has been shown in this section, that different theoretical approaches³³⁵ have tried to link space and crime, care of space and its perception. These theories belong to different disciplines and this research did not have the chance to deepen them. However, a brief reference to them is fundamental to remember that violence aspects cannot be ignored when dealing with public spaces in the context of analysis. In fact, it is common – especially when dealing with interventions in disadvantaged areas – to pay particular attention to lighting design, to plan avoiding spaces with just one access (cul-de-sacs) or with too many accesses, to provide active frontages and activities during different times of the day etc.³³⁶. These planning features should be included in every quality design project. Indeed, space and its crime level can affect the way people perceive and use the space itself even if this relation is not always as simple and linear. Also, the maintenance of public space affects its usage. To conclude, there is a relationship between the care and the aesthetics of space and its perception³³⁷. For these

³³⁵ “Current understandings of CPTED are built on an amalgam of the first two theories, emphasising surveillance, territoriality and access but also incorporating neighbourhood-level factors such as street design, lighting and urban upgrading” (Cassidy *et al.* 2014, 80).

³³⁶ These are some design rules that can be applied in order to contrast the spatial concentration of crime in hot spots.

³³⁷ For example, during one of the field works the author observed an interesting change in behaviour of one interviewee. It is just one small episode, but it can be used to prove the link between space and its perception. The person that we will call *Anne* was working as librarian in a nice neighbourhood in the southern suburbs of Cape Town. She was well-dressed and kind when the author picked her up in order to go to Khayelitsha where she used to work. After the field work in the township, the author bought some lunch to thank her for her time and availability. When Anne finished the lunch, she trashed the lunch box out of the car, in the middle of the street. Khayelitsha and the neighbourhood in which she works are very different environments. Khayelitsha is full of trash along the street and the author had the feeling that the same person wouldn’t do the same action in a nice neighbourhood. On the contrary, she did it in the township naturally, almost feeling justified since “anyone does it there”.

reasons, specific urban design interventions need to be very carefully contextualized.

VPUU programme refers explicitly to the situational crime prevention (see Figure 47), which is consistent with the integrative approach proposed by the CoCT (chapter 4.2.2.3). Politically, the programme has been sponsored as the use of “social engagement and town planning as tools in fighting crime”³³⁸. Moreover, the programme aims to answer to the “increasing level of criminal violence, lack of safety and general fear in the use of public space” (KfW Entwicklungsbank 2010, 2). The attention to the use of public space – and its spatial configuration – is just one the aspect of the programme while in this research the public space is the main aspect to concentrate on. In fact, the programme identifies hotspot areas, which are considered as vulnerable areas in term of crime level. These hotspots are the eligible spaces for urban design interventions since they are where the change can be more evident. This idea refers to the concept of urban acupuncture approach (chapter 3.2.4). Accordingly, it has to be underlined that those kinds of urban modifications are just a part of the changing process which has to involve economic and social shifts: “the best way to bring safety to the slums is to generate business opportunities in the most densely populated districts and flatlands. Restaurants, shops, service centres, streetlights, and other urban facilities are all beacons of integrations” (Lerner 2014, 57).

³³⁸ Retrieved March 21, 2018. <http://policytransfer.metropolis.org/case-studies/violence-prevention-through-urban-upgrading>

5.3.2 Methodology for VPUU programme analysis

In order to evaluate the VPUU programme the author has used a mixed methodology, which included three main approaches. The first approach consists of interviewing main stakeholders involved in the project. The second approach includes a literature review of publications about VPUU, of related policies and also interviews with stakeholders involved in those. The third approach has been to spend as much time as possible on the site of intervention selected in order to analyse the spaces, their use and the perception of them. In fact, the whole method revolves around the analysis of a specific case study: the VPUU Harare project. The Harare project is considered the flagship project of the programme and apparently is used by the CoCT as *best practice* project to learn from. This last approach included interviews conducted to people living in the area who use, live or manage the space around the public space analysed. And about 55 interviews have been conducted including main stakeholders involved in this project, and people or organizations using the spaces. The three approaches mentioned will be described more in details in the next sections.

Firstly, interviews by the author within 2016 and 2017 includes the following people or organizations – considered as main stakeholders – involved with VPUU programme³³⁹:

- Mr. Michael Krause – CEO of VPUU NPO since 2006, urban designer
- Mr. Alastair Graham – VPUU programme manager at the CoCT
- Mr. Andreas Gensinke – operational and maintenance coordinator at the CoCT
- Mrs. Jackie James – consultant architect for VPUU from 2005 to 2015
- Mrs. Nicola Irving – consultant architect for VPUU
- Mrs. Tarna Klinzner – consultant landscape architect for VPUU
- Mr. Siyabulela Ngwenduna – VPUU, institutional crime prevention, operational and maintenance facilitator/ tenant manager
- Mr. Marco Geretto (CoCT), senior urban designer: TDA Cape Town, urban integration department
- Mr. Krishna Naidoo³⁴⁰ – engineer at integrated transport system office at the CoCT
- Regional Socio-Economic Programme (RSEP)³⁴¹

³³⁹ All the people/ offices mentioned are linked somehow with the design, implementation, policy-making of VPUU programme. Moreover, interviews have been conducted also to people living in the area who use, live or manage the space around the public space. Those last interviews have been part of the third approach. In fact, about 55 interviews to people directly involved in VPUU Harare project has been conducted.

³⁴⁰ The author met also more informally Mr. Ronald Haiden, engineer and former director of the transportation department at the CoCT.

³⁴¹ <https://www.westerncape.gov.za/rsep-vpuu/>

Secondly, the literature review includes the analysis of the policies about public spaces examined in chapter 4.2.2. In addition, the author has studied *internal* and *external* publication specific of VPUU Harare project. The main internal publication is a manual developed by VPUU (Krause *et al.* 2014). “The manual sets out a model of how to use safety as a public good to develop human potential and improve Quality of Live (QoL) of communities towards Sustainable Neighbourhoods (SN) in low-income areas” (Krause *et al.* 2014, 7). This internal perspective describes the aim of the programme, its methodological approach and give examples of intervention. It is called *manual* since “it is aimed to be of assistance to Government at all levels—National, Provincial and Local—to Non-Government Organisations (NGOs), Community Based Organisations (CBOs) and any other agencies or individuals engaged in the process of human development in area-based approaches” (Krause *et al.* 2014, 7). The main goal is the provision of a higher level of safety, but the vision includes the provision of public services, the cooperation with community through a participatory approach, the improvement of spatial, social, cultural and economic aspects of poor and excluded communities. That is the reason why it is considered an integrative approach. VPUU produces also post-occupancy evaluation and impact studies which aims to improve their method in time. This is an important novelty in the approach, but it also presents a fundamental problem since these studies were not shared: to be useful these post-occupancy studies should be shared and made public. Firstly, they could be useful for projects like this which look at the VPUU program as an example. Secondly, the fact that these documents have not been shared makes the author suspicious about the transparency of the process or its results. In fact, despite the insistence of the author, it was impossible to consult these documents, just as it has been very difficult to get in touch with the association and therefore to know the internal point of view³⁴². Other internal documents – produced by the CoCT or VPUU – have been consulted to fill this gap (among others Giles 2006; SUN development 2009; Cooke 2011; VPUU 2014; Future Cape Town 2015; ACC-VPUU 2015, Ewing 2017). Some of them are internal working documents, some have promotional intent and other have been created to report to financiers. A second group of publication analysed comprises a set of works by external researches that focus on specific aspect of VPUU project. Since the programme and its implementation is quite new³⁴³, there

³⁴² Email exchange between the author and the VPUU happened before the author sojourn in 2017, when the VPUU case study has been as selected. Initially, the author was interested in a collaboration with the VPUU office, which eventually was not possible.

³⁴³ 2005 can be considered as the official start of implementation of VPUU in Cape Town.

are few publications which have tried to evaluate the programme³⁴⁴. These publications can be divided in:

- impact study on Harare library (Patel *et al.* 2015; Skarzynski and Nassimbeni 2016)
- defensible space analysis of VPUU Harare project (Fester 2015)
- informal trading around Khayelitsha station (James 2013)
- health impact studies on VPUU programme (Cassidy *et al.* 2014; Matzopoulos and Myers 2014; Cassidy *et al.* 2015)
- social cohesion studies on VPUU programme (Barosky 2014; Barosky 2016)

To the author's knowledge, what is missing is a research specific on spatial aspect of VPUU project. The quoted researches have addressed different problems linked to VPUU programme, without a specific focus on the spatial role of public space. The purpose of this thesis is to describe and examine the relation between VPUU intervention and public space. In order to maximize the understanding of existing researches, to comprehend their spatial aspects and to examine in depth the methodology used, the author have also interviewed people directly involved in the studies mentioned above:

- Mrs. Najma Patel and Mr. Janusz Skarzynsky – researchers and librarians for CoCT: research on Harare library
- Mr. Ryan Fester – researcher at *Development Action Group* (DAG): master thesis on VPUU Harare project
- Mrs. Jackie James – consultant architect for VPUU: research about informal trading around Khayelitsha station
- Mr. Richard Matzopoulos – researcher at South African Medical Research Council: impact study on VPUU programme
- Mrs. Diana Sanchez (researcher interested in formality and informality) and Mr. Ncedo Mngqibisa (field report researcher, ethnographic work) – Human Science Research Council (HSRC): research about social cohesion in VPUU Harare project

Thirdly, Khayelitsha is not an easy place to go to, especially if you are foreigner, white and woman. Therefore, spending time on site for field work for the author has not been an easy task to achieve. Consciousness about risks and will to consider Khayelitsha as an *ordinary*³⁴⁵ neighbourhood have been combined to go beyond prejudices. The time spent in Khayelitsha has been an essential element for a qualitative analysis of the space. In order to *justify* the time around

³⁴⁴ It could be misleading the fact that some of them cooperate with VPUU office itself therefore may be partial: in particular the health impact studies. Those studies are anyway relevant since they are quantitative studies.

³⁴⁵ See chapter 3.1.2.

VPUU Harare project, the author prepared a questionnaire draft³⁴⁶ (Appendix 1) which has been used to involve and talk with local people. The semi-structured interviews have been used for two reasons. On one hand, they serve to engage interviewees and to have an excuse to spend time with them on site. In fact, Harare public spaces or streets are not places where a researcher can easily apply Gehl rules on how to study public life: observing, counting, mapping, tracing, tracking, looking for traces, photographing etc. (Gehl and Birgitte 2013). Therefore, tools and timing of the research had to be adapted to local context³⁴⁷. On the other hand the semi-structured interviews have been conceived in order to understand the perception and the use of new Harare public spaces. To achieve this goal, the definition of public space (chapter 3.2.1) has been verified through specific questions about what people consider as a great – quality, inclusive, fair – space (Appendix 1). These informal conversations with local people have also been essential to help the author comparing different perspectives (designers, politicians, users). Additionally, since the majority of Khayelitsha population is isiXhosa speaking, the help of a local research assistant (Mr. Ayanda³⁴⁸) has been essential. The support of a local mediator has been important both to make people feel more comfortable talking and listening to isiXhosa language³⁴⁹, and also it helped the author in gaining confidence³⁵⁰ within the context. The author interviewed 39 people or association who work, live or use the Harare project public spaces. The choice of the interviewees has been as diverse as possible, including women and men, people living or working around the areas of intervention³⁵¹, formal and informal activities, profit and no-profit organization, local and community stakeholders working in the whole Harare project area.

³⁴⁶ The questionnaire draft has been discussed with Mrs. Stella Papanicolaou (Professor at UCT, School of Architecture planning and Geomatics) and Mercy Brown Luthango (researcher at ACC). Both gave to the author useful suggestions to readdress research questions and to align them with the questionnaire.

³⁴⁷ For example, evening and night observation of the space has been excluded for safety reason. The same thing has been done also by Gehl Architects and Cape Town Partnership in 2005 within the research project called *A city for all*. Actually, that research has been narrowed to public spaces in Cape Town Central City. Information about this unpublished study have been retrieved through a skype interview with Andrew Boraime, CEO at Cape Town Partnership at the time.

³⁴⁸ Surname of the assistant is intentionally omitted to protect individual privacy.

³⁴⁹ 90.54% of the population in Khayelitsha is isiXhosa speaking. The majority of them speaks also fluent English. The local mediator has been extremely useful when the interviewee was more comfortable to speak the mother language in expressing her/his reasoning.

³⁵⁰ Having a young black local man walking with the author around Harare helped the author to feel more comfortable, to recognise dangerous situation to stay far from or hazardous timing to walk around. Unfortunately, people from townships are used to be exposed to lot of challenges and violence. Therefore, they are more used to identify dangerous situations.

³⁵¹ Most of the interviewees were originally from the Eastern Cape and just few of them where originally from other African countries.

Names of people are omitted to guarantee their privacy, while a list of activities is provided to show their heterogeneity:

- informal traders at the station area³⁵²
- formal traders and manufacturers³⁵³ renting VPUU commercial spaces or live-work units³⁵⁴
- Youth Life Centre, Masibambane Hall in Harare Square – *Love Life*³⁵⁵
- *Football for Hope* centre³⁵⁶
- Environmental & Health Office in Harare Square
- *Sikhula Sonke ECD* (early child development)³⁵⁷ community-based organization (interview with team leader of Emthonjeni³⁵⁸ and their visit)
- *Learn to Earn*³⁵⁹ organization, which include the shop *Feel Good*
- *Neighbourhood watch* office
- Harare library in Harare Square³⁶⁰
- *Iqhaya art and craft*³⁶¹ co-cooperative market
- *Development Action Group* (DAG) no-profit organization
- Councillor of Ward 98 office in Harare Square
- *Ward Youth Development Council* (WYDC)
- *Ward Development forum* (Community leader)
- *TB HIV care Khayelitsha* no-profit organization
- Safe Node Area Committee (SNAC)
- *Kwamfundo* secondary public school (interview with deputy principal)
- *St. Maicol* private pre-school (interview with principal)
- *Social Justice Coalition*³⁶² no-profit organization

The map in Appendix 2 shows the location where the interviews took place and therefore the places that have been observed more closely. Just few people did not allow the author to take photos.

³⁵² Some examples: fruit and vegetable shack, furniture shack, fruit movable seller.

³⁵³ Some examples: hair salons, coffee shops, fridge and oven repair shop, electrical and metal pieces shop, metal work activity, cloth shop, tv-radio repair shop, church pastor office, cloth designer's shop, driving school, internet point, pharmacy product seller...

³⁵⁴ Details about live-work units in the chapter 5.3.3.

³⁵⁵ <http://lovelife.org.za>.

³⁵⁶ <https://www.grassrootsoccer.org>.

³⁵⁷ <http://www.sikhulasonke.org.za>.

³⁵⁸ <http://vpuu.org.za/success-story/emthonjeni-success-story/>.

³⁵⁹ <https://www.learntoearn.org.za/index.php/contact-us>.

³⁶⁰ First and actual librarian have been interviewed.

³⁶¹ <http://www.qinisanani.co.za/iqhaya-arts-and-crafts/>.

³⁶² <http://www.sjc.org.za>.

5.3.3 Harare project analysis and inspirations

In order to understand better why the Harare VPUU project is considered innovative in the Cape Town post-apartheid context, it is necessary to step back and show how public facilities have been placed within Khayelitsha. In fact, to comprehend the reason of the VPUU innovations, it is useful to compare the existing public facilities before VPUU intervention and the current ones. The composition of these maps has not been easy for the author, who tried – without success – to collect these information during the sojourn in Cape Town by official sources³⁶³. Nevertheless, the maps have been composed using historic and recent satellite images³⁶⁴, current web mapping services³⁶⁵ and local researches³⁶⁶. The comparison between the two maps shows not only the creation of new public facilities³⁶⁷, but also the growth and densification of Khayelitsha itself³⁶⁸. In fact, in 1999 – when the VPUU programme was in its early stage – Khayelitsha township was not completed yet. As a consequence, some spaces planned as public facilities were not developed yet in the south-east part. Moreover, informal settlement kept growing around existing formal areas as well in small left-over spaces³⁶⁹, increasing the number of people living in the area. The development and the construction of missing portions of Khayelitsha continued as if apartheid had never existed. And the term *township* keeps labelling the neighbourhood.

³⁶³ The information collected in Cape Town by the author were often partial and in the first version of the thesis the maps showing public facilities of Khayelitsha have been omitted. When reviewing the thesis for the final version, the author decided to insert two maps about public facilities of Khayelitsha. The author recognize that those data may be incomplete or not precise. In fact, smaller public buildings and spaces may have been omitted, but the scope of the map is to show big public changes/interventions in Khayelitsha. Some negligence may depend on the fact that maps have been composed in Italy, without having the possibility to be reviewed by experts of Cape Town. Notwithstanding, those maps can help the reader to understand the overall organization of the township and therefore to evaluate more deeply the case study analysed.

³⁶⁴ Aerial photo of Khayelitsha (1999 and 2014). Data source: National Geo-spatial Information (NGI) Department. (Retrieved by NGI office March 3, 2016). Firstly, it has been composed the current situation map (Figure 79), and secondly the one which represent the situation before VPUU interventions (Figure 78): the author has assumed that the function of the building has remained the same if its shape has not changed.

³⁶⁵ *Google Maps* (satellite images 2019) and *maps* (Apple).

³⁶⁶ *Play the city* initiative involves local residents in mapping their neighbourhood. A series of maps of Khayelitsha (*Khayelitsha in maps*) have been very useful to check the information collected by other sources even if it is not clear the date referred to the diagrams: <https://www.playthecity.nl/page/7010/khayelitsha-in-maps>. (Retrieved January 24, 2019).

³⁶⁷ In the map, the routes of local shared taxis and of local bus are omitted, even if formal and informal public transportation is essential in the life of people living in Khayelitsha. Shared taxi (also called collective taxi or minibus) represents a huge informally organized means of transport which is difficult to trace. Local bus routes (like Golden Arrow Bus Services) are also not drawn for the same reason. The recent MyCiti bus is the only one traced.

³⁶⁸ The official Census state that the population of Khayelitsha was of about 249,000 people in 1996, of about 329,000 in 2001, of about 392,000 in 2011.

³⁶⁹ These small spaces occupied by informal dwellings or shops are not shown in the Khayelitsha map, but this phenomenon quite diffuse in the all township (as described in Figure 68 and Figure 69).

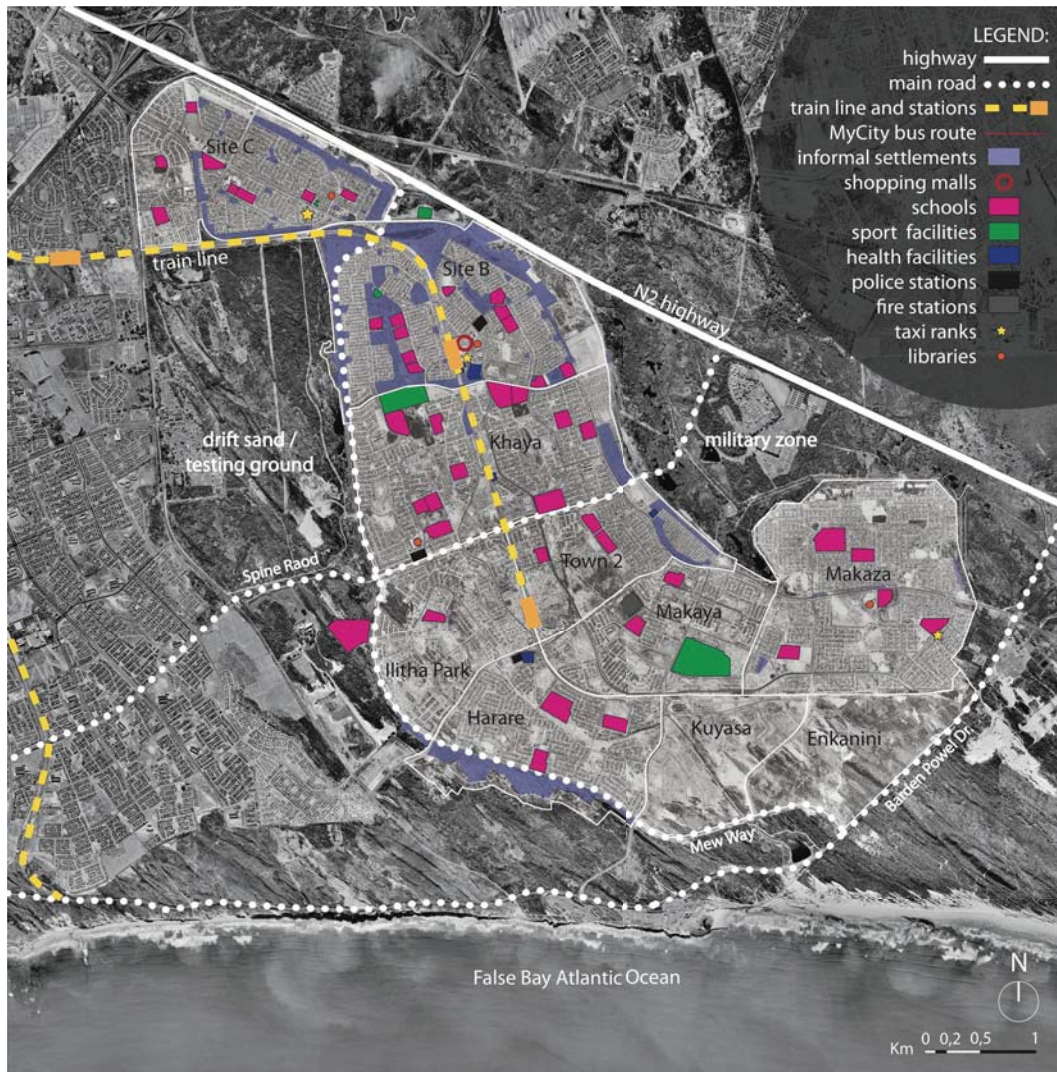


Fig. 78: Khayelitsha public facilities distribution in 1999, by M. Bodino, 2019³⁷⁰

Figure 78 shows Khayelitsha distribution of public facilities in 1999, when the train line was not yet completed (it stopped in Khayelitsha station between Ilitha Park and Town 2), Kuyasa was under construction and Enkanini was not developed. Informal settlements were concentrated in the north part of Khayelitsha, where more of the facilities have been provided. Educational facilities were scattered in the all neighbourhoods, while libraries, taxi ranks³⁷¹ and a shopping mall³⁷² were concentrated in the consolidated districts in the northern part.

³⁷⁰ The base satellite images used is an aerial photo of Khayelitsha (1999: National Geo-spatial Information (NGI) Department, retrieved by NGI office March 3, 2016). The information shown have been extracted comparing Figure 80 with the satellite image of 1999.

³⁷¹ Probably there was a third taxi rank around the Khayelitsha station to serve the central and southern part of the Khayelitsha population, but it is not visible through satellite images of 1999.

³⁷² Probably it was a private development.

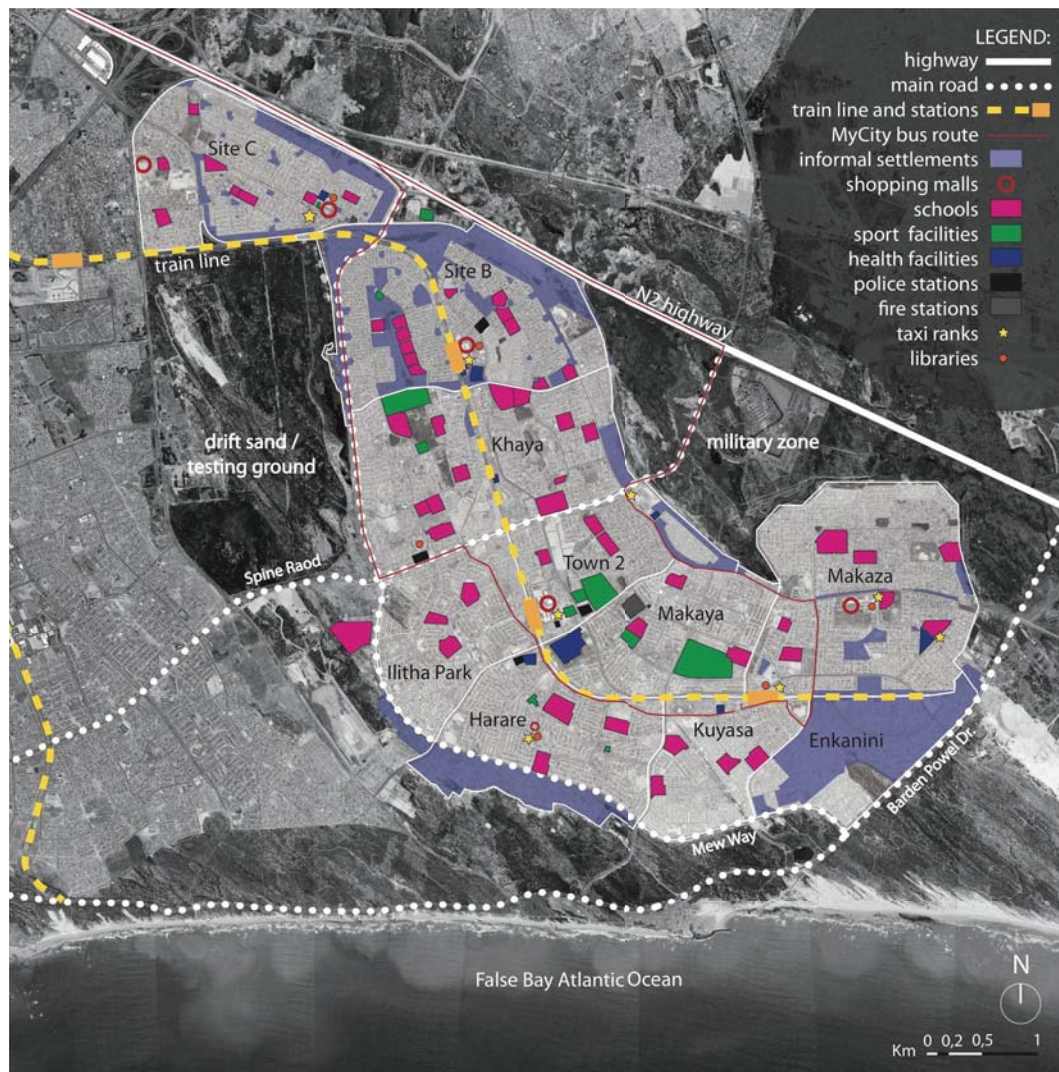


Fig. 79: Khayelitsha public facilities distribution in 2019, by M. Bodino, 2019³⁷³

Figure 79 shows the current situation, where most of the space within Khayelitsha borders have been filled. Public facilities are quite well distributed, but there is still a large number of open spaces acting as left-overs³⁷⁴. Comparing Figure 78 and Figure 79, Harare district have not undergone extraordinary changes in terms of public facilities. Therefore, it is clear that VPUU intervention in Harare is acting in a quite small scale, which can not affect by itself the urban structure³⁷⁵. At the same time, a growing number of activities and facilities has been developed around Khayelitsha strategic station³⁷⁶. In fact, this train stop is in a strategical position for the completed neighbourhood.

³⁷³ The base satellite images used is an aerial photo of Khayelitsha (2014: National Geo-spatial Information (NGI) Department, retrieved by NGI office March 3, 2016).

³⁷⁴ A more detail description of left-over open spaces will be done later in this chapter. In fact, they have not been identified in the map analysed here.

³⁷⁵ The aspect of scale reflects one of the limitations of DPP and QPS (see chapter 4.2.2.1).

³⁷⁶ The one between Ilitha Park and Town 2.

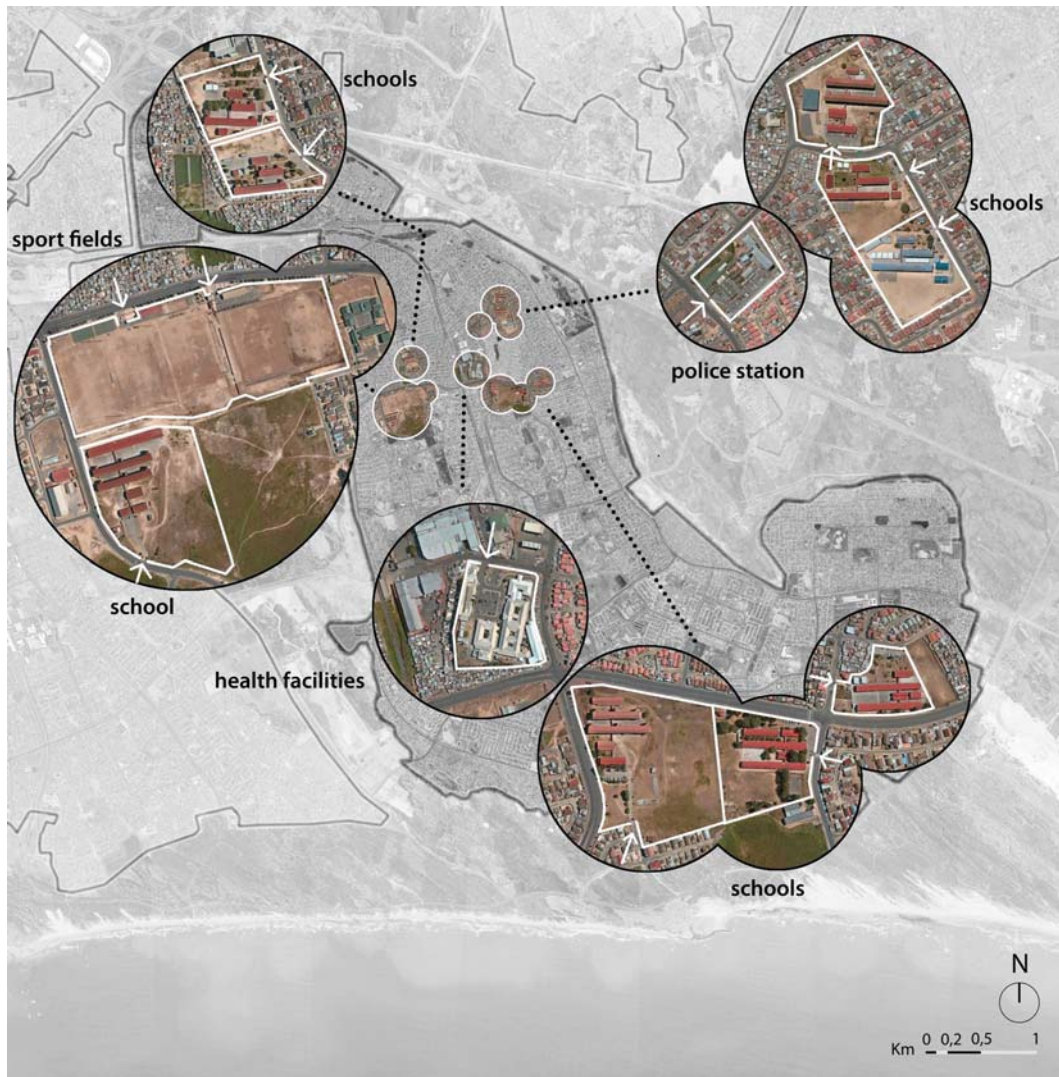


Fig. 80: Examples of public space facilities layout, by M. Bodino, 2019³⁷⁷

What is relevant is that – even if apartheid period was finished – the development of the new districts continued with the same urban structure composed by single-storey houses in small plots and fenced open spaces to be assigned for public facilities. As shown in Figure 80, all public facilities (such as schools, sport fields, health facilities and police stations) were conceived as objects in the middle of their fenced plot with a single entrance. This layout provides control of access and security. At the same time, no relation with the surrounding or with public facilities or open spaces nearby was taken into account, nor the access by pedestrian. All public projects in Khayelitsha³⁷⁸ has been designed according to this layout until VPUU proposed an alternative.

³⁷⁷ The public space facilities used as examples are places within Site B and Khaya, an area which have not change a lot between 1999 and 2019.

³⁷⁸ Also in other townships and in other neighbourhood of the city the layout of public facilities (and also of housing) reflects the idea of the object in the middle of a fenced plot.



Fig. 81: Harare area of intervention, by M. Bodino, 2018³⁷⁹

The objective of this chapter is to understand which lessons can be learnt by analysing the Harare VPUU project, which are the limitations and which elements can be generalized. The novelty of Harare project is that it has created – or attempted to create – a connection of linked public spaces, not just an isolated one. It is a linear network, which provides connectivity within the neighbourhood. In fact, the area of intervention chosen has been a linear space which bonds the Khayelitsha station³⁸⁰ with the Endlovini informal settlement, crossing the Harare neighbourhood (Figure 81).

³⁷⁹ Aerial photo of Khayelitsha (2014). Data source: National Geo-spatial Information (NGI) Department. (Retrieved by NGI office March 3, 2016). The arrow connects the Khayelitsha station to the north with the Endlovini informal settlement to the south (also called Monwabisi Park).

³⁸⁰ At the time of the baseline study, the Khayelitsha station was the last station of the train line and therefore was very busy. The new terminus, the Kuyasa station, and the last piece of train line was completed within 2008 and 2010 (according to NGI aerial photos).

Looking at the previous maps (Figure 78 and Figure 79), seems like Harare was not lacking public facilities in 1999³⁸¹. What was lacking was the infrastructure to sustain and support them. In other words, what VPUU provided was the system of open public spaces to improve the quality of the Harare neighbourhood.

According to the analysis of data collected, the priorities of the local community were other than provision of public open space³⁸². Indeed, the main objective of the VPUU project in Harare has been to create safe pedestrian walkways³⁸³, and also to provide economic and job opportunities. Nevertheless, public space implicitly has been used as the core infrastructure for spatial, social, cultural and economic upgrading of the township. As specified in chapter 3.2.2, a well design public space undoubtedly improves the neighbourhood around it, especially if the neighbourhood – Khayelitsha in this case – has been deliberately planned without public open space. Harare VPUU project seeks to provide a socio-economic infrastructure for the surrounding area. For this reason, it can be conceived as an urban acupuncture intervention, but its impact must be evaluated to avoid disconnection between theoretical rhetoric of public space and reality. In fact, public space is inclusive by definition considering its usual objectives and ambitions³⁸⁴, but its implementation depends on the ordinary context in which is placed. The following sections aim to understand if the objective of inclusion has been achieved in a township of Cape Town – which is the emblem of separation – through the analysis of the Harare VPUU project. Some spatial principles will be extracted and they can be applicable in other fragmented contemporary cities. The belief of the author is that an inclusive approach should not be used just for upgrading projects, but it should be extended to every urban intervention. The challenge is therefore to define spatial rules that can be replicated in other cases.

VPUU programme timeline (Figure 82) shows that the origin of the programme refers to the 1996 national crime prevention strategy. Then, if we move the focus of the programme from crime prevention to the creation of inclusive public space, the origin of VPUU corresponds with the creation of public space policies in the late 1990s³⁸⁵.

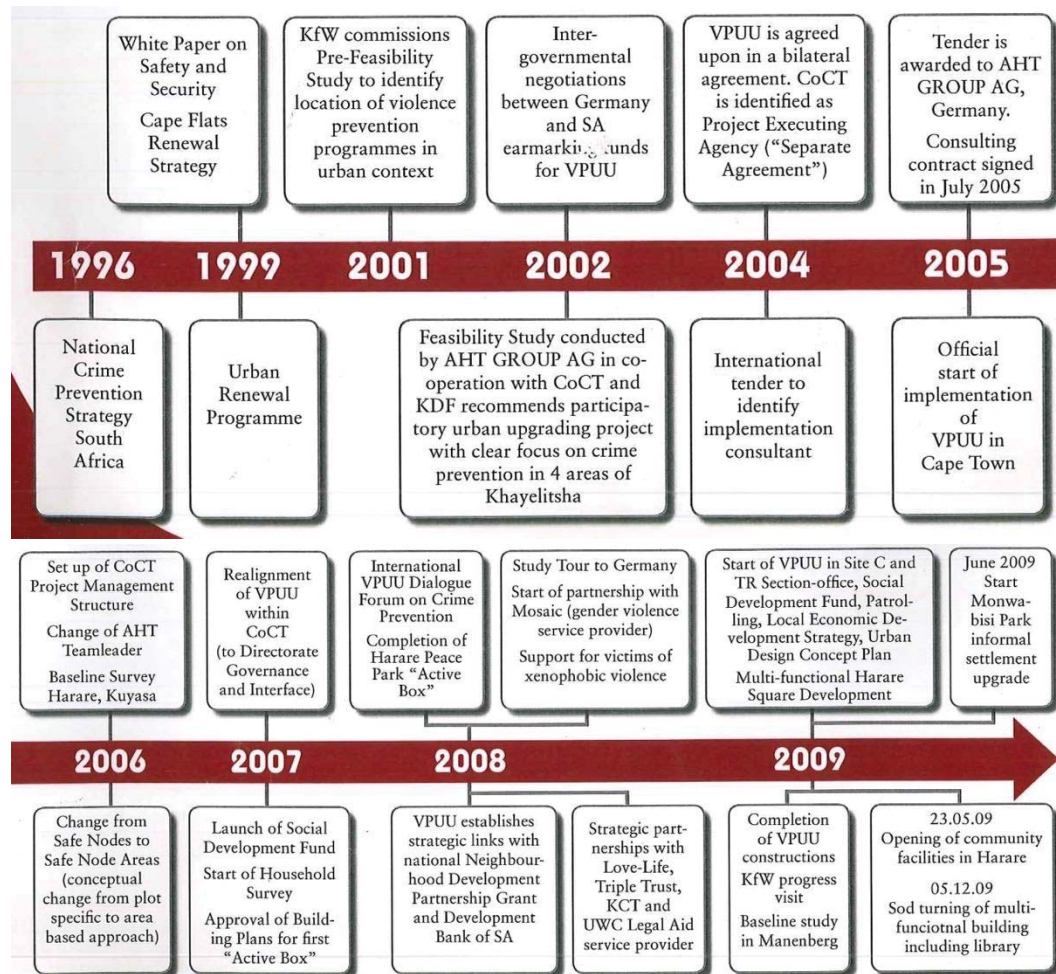
³⁸¹ This research focuses on the spatial organization of public facilities. No judgment is made about the quality of education, health and other public services in the township, even if the author has heard complains about it during the interviews on site.

³⁸² Most of the people living in Khayelitsha don't even have a precise idea of what a public open space is and which is its spatial configuration. They have experienced some public spaces in the city centre, but not in the township. Additionally, many people are originally from rural areas.

³⁸³ The safe route was planned especially for children and women. Despite the train is considered quite unsafe, the Khayelitsha train station is a busy place since it provides one of the cheapest means of transport and also it is used to cross the train line physical barrier. Additionally, there are two public schools in the area and students are used to walk from home to school.

³⁸⁴ See chapter 3.2.1 about the search of definition of public space.

³⁸⁵ As demonstrated in the chapter 4.2.2.

Fig. 82: VPUU timeline, by VPUU³⁸⁶

The implementation of the programme started in 2005 with a baseline survey on Harare³⁸⁷ and Kuyasa which aim was “to analyse the situation and main problems of the Safe Node Areas, the target groups, their needs, potentials and community organisations” (Giles 2006, 8). Consultation with community have been developed in the first phase while the city was establishing the institutional arrangements and releasing the land for the selected locations³⁸⁸. In fact, the programme has been possible through a public-private partnership which includes mainly two parts: City of Cape Town and the German Government³⁸⁹. Two

³⁸⁶ The timeline has been extracted from a VPUU pamphlet about Khayelitsha shared with the author by CoCT in 2016. It is an important document since it traces official important dates of the creation and first phases of VPUU programme (confirmed during author’s interviews).

³⁸⁷ A portion of Harare was the subject of a feasibility study done by Jonker + Barnes Architects in 2002. According to interviews, the approach of that study has been strongly modified afterwards.

³⁸⁸ Interview and email exchanges with Jackie James 2017.

³⁸⁹ “The Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading (VPUU) programme is a partnership between the City of Cape Town (CoCT), the German Development Bank (KfW) and the community of Khayelitsha through a civil society partner, the Khayelitsha Development Forum (KDF). The partnership has been extended to include the Western Cape Government (WCG),

corresponding offices have been created under the name of VPUU programme: one within the CoCT (managed by Alastair Graham), and the other one external (led by Michael Krause). The bureaucratic system behind the VPUU programme is very complex and this aspect may have affected the results of the programme itself³⁹⁰. This mirror structure was supposed to work in parallel, experimenting the integrative approach, which includes both bottom-up and top-down strategies. This attitude was going beyond the CoCT structure of *line departments*³⁹¹. In fact, the creation of successful public spaces has been the objective around which the various departments were forced to interact. VPUU offices had the task to coordinate this internal integrative process (within the CoCT departments), but also the external integrative process (community participation). Therefore, the VPUU unit has acted as intermediary in the process, as a mediator between the city and the local community in order to negotiate the modification of space. And the initial bureaucratic slowness has been used for community engagement³⁹². The integrative approach described may seem quite simple, but it has completely altered the common way of doing things. On one hand, it represents a revolution in the design methodology of Cape Town. The ability of coordinating the CoCT, VPUU offices and local community had the power to foster trust in the

National Treasury (NT), International agencies, NGOs, CBOs and other communities. The programme is co-funded by the Federal German Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), the CoCT, NT through its Neighbourhood Development Partnership Grant (NDPG), other public funding sources, as well as third party funding. The programme is implemented by AHT Group AG and its South African partner Sustainable Urban Neighbourhood (SUN) Development Pty Ltd. As of April 2013 a Not for Profit Company – VPUU NPC has been established to implement VPUU in the Western Cape” (Krause *et al.* 2014, 7).

³⁹⁰ The bureaucratic system behind the VPUU programme is very complex. Moreover, it seemed to the author that the control structure was almost pyramidal, with Krause and partially Graham monitoring – if not controlling – the shared information of the programme. In fact, many emails sent to people working at VPUU NPC and SUN Development (the South African implementing offices) and many documents requests left unanswered. Seems like policies and practice clash again. At the time of the sojourn, another local researcher was writing about the VPUU project, criticizing some aspects of the programme. VPUU questioned the integrity of that work while the researcher reported the limited access to primary sources. This issue has been a challenge for this research in terms of getting internal primary sources, but it also reveals a paradox. In fact, the all point of being an organization working for the benefit of the community is to share information, especially if the methodology approach can be replicated since it is very strict and well defined. Therefore, the failure to share documents of the VPUU programme can be considered questionable. Researching in depth about the programme, it was then clear the complexity of people, associations and financiers involved. Therefore, it can be deduced that the difficulty of sharing materials could also depend on the structure of the VPUU programme itself. Despite the objectives of the program are clearly and explicitly addressed to support an integrative system and non-profit objectives; the system that supports it also includes for-profit programs, whose interests are therefore protected.

³⁹¹ As described in chapter 4.2.2, the first attempt to have all departments working together was within Dignifies Places Programme.

³⁹² During this process, the Safe Node Area Committee – SNAC – with key stakeholders has been set up in order to understand community needs. “Politics is everything in this communities, nothing is out of politics. Therefore, community has been part of the decision-making process” (Interview with Jackie James 2017).

institutions, the same trust that is normally lost due to corruption, absence and inadequacy of planning (De Leo 2016³⁹³). On the other hand, the public-private partnership has not been easy to manage. The standard bureaucratic process was forged in order to achieve the project goals and that was possible because VPUU was inside the city. Furthermore, the external implementing companies³⁹⁴ had the ability to move even quicker since the project was outsourced and has not been subject to internal rules. When this mechanism became clear³⁹⁵, the joint venture resulted slightly unbalanced. At that time, this have helped CoCT to evaluate its work, and to be aware that its system need to be upgraded. In fact, the city has understood that “cross-sectoral planning is a challenge for local authorities. [...] As there is no single asset owner or line department for the public structure in its entirety, the creation of a more integrated institutional structure is required” (Daniels *et al.* 2016, 139). In other words, a change of attitude has been promoted by VPUU through its programme and the implementation of its projects. Simultaneously, the CoCT started its innovative integrative process³⁹⁶.

The spatial intervention by VPUU has translated the need to provide a socio-economic infrastructure with the creation of a system, a linear public space defined by public buildings, community facilities and private/public buildings. The great novelty compared to the usual design of public facilities was that buildings (public facilities as well as private ones) and related public open spaces have been designed within the same project. In fact, VPUU planned the elements of this public system as an infrastructure. The urban design approach (Figure 83) consists of five precincts to be developed in order to create what VPUU calls the Harare Safe Node areas (see Appendix 4 for more details and plans of the project).

The five precincts consist of:

1. the station precinct
2. the bridge and link

³⁹³ The loss of trust in institutions is described by De Leo as: “Nei territori contesti vi è spesso una significativa assenza e inadeguatezza della pianificazione. Questa determina una condizione di mancanza (assoluta o di efficacia) della progettazione di spazi e servizi pubblici a fronte di una forte imposizione di controllo strategico di città e territori ridotti alla dipendenza e, possibilmente, sempre più impoveriti” (2016, 76).

³⁹⁴ The German AHT Group AG and its South African partner Sustainable Urban Neighbourhood (SUN) Development Pty Ltd.

³⁹⁵ Timing of implementation were indeed very different between the two mirror structures: the city one was much slower than the external one.

³⁹⁶ That is why the CoCT has been recently restructured proposing an area-based approach which comprise interdepartmental teams to overcome the silo-based planning. Four area-based service delivery areas have been identified in January 2017. Khayelitsha is included in the area 2. In the next years, it will be very challenging for the CoCT to control these spaces. Indeed, the four areas include within their boundaries very different contexts (e.g. area 4 includes southern suburbs and Mitchell’s Plain). The author doesn’t know what is the current situation of this approach (in 2019).

3. recreation precinct (also called urban park area) – outdoor sports fields, connection with bicycle track
4. economic and social precinct – Harare square project
5. Mew Way – connection with Endlovini

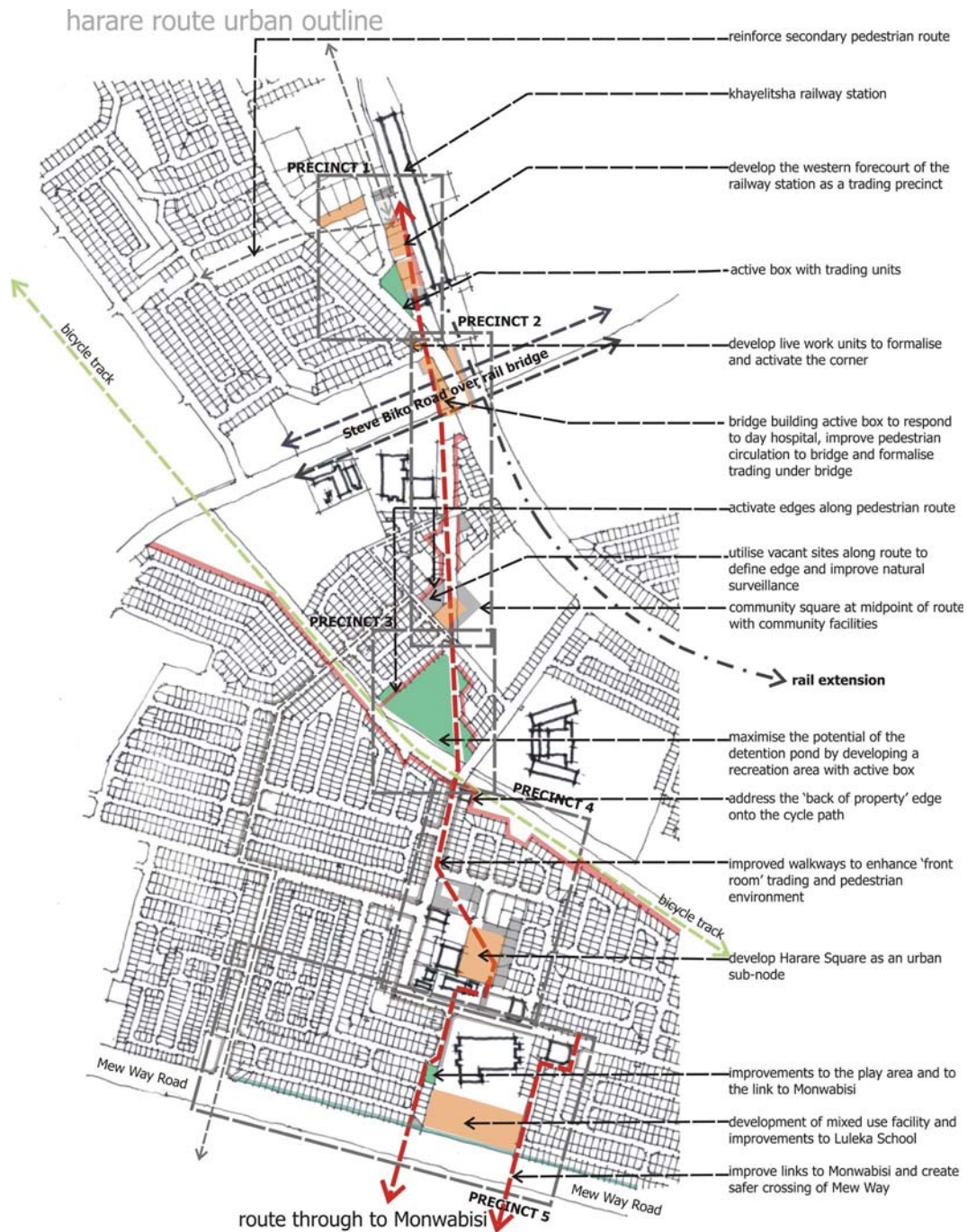


Fig. 83: Harare urban design approach, VPUU 2009³⁹⁷

³⁹⁷ VPUU internal document shared with the author.

The construction of VPUU spaces did not strictly follow the order of the precincts, and the implementation of these spaces took around ten years³⁹⁸ and it cost 200 million rands³⁹⁹. The terminology used by VPUU includes two definitions relevant because of their spatial features. *Active box* is the first: it is used for “a small, safe community building situated along major pedestrian routes. Typically a three-storey building in a prominent location, visible from a distance, it contains generic elements such as a caretaker’s flat, [...] good lighting and a ground floor primary public function that varies depending on the specific context [...] Due to the height, the Active Boxes act as beacons or landmarks, during the day and night thus aiding orientation within an often monotonous single-storey environment” (Krause *et al.* 2014, 24). *Live-work unit* is the second term which describes “double-storey buildings with residential accommodation on the upper floor and commercial, manufacturing or residential activity on the ground floor. Live-Work Units are typically arranged along important public spaces or pedestrian desire lines (walkways) to *activate* the street level or bring activities to perceived dangerous spaces and increase the passive surveillance” (Krause *et al.* 2014, 25). The alternation of active boxes and live-work units along the selected route in Harare has the role to improve security for the area, but it also defines the elements of the public structure, shaping and providing its edges.

The field work on site have been addressed to analyse and observe architectural and morphological features (through photos, diagrams, notes and interviews) and to understand perception and involvement of spaces users (talking and spending time with people who use those spaces). What follow is the analysis of spatial elements of Harare project through diagrams in plan and related descriptions, while in Appendix 3 photos of the project are shown. Those selected pictures simulate the safe walk from Khayelitsha station to Endlovini, displaying the projects implemented and showing examples of the spatial modifications described in this chapter. In following sections, the evaluation of the project is not focus on architectural details, but it attempts to freeze the spatial situation at the time of this research, making explicit VPUU *interventions* (in red, yellow and green) and *intentions* of the project – never realized (in blue): Figure 84.

³⁹⁸ The construction commences in 2007 with the conversion of the toilet building at Harare (Peace) park into an active box. In 2009, VPUU launched the first completed buildings with a great ceremony (with the Premier Helen Zille and the mayor Don Plato). These included active box in Harare Peace Park, sports facilities in Kwamfundo School and Precinct 3 active box and urban park. Within 2010 and 2011, the active box in the precinct 1 and the Harare Square live-work units were completed. In 2011, the library opened in Harare Square. In the following years, the live-work units opposite the railway station have been built, while the Masibambane Hall renovation finished in 2014. The Business Hub and the Environmental Health Offices in precinct 4 were the last to be completed (2013 and 2014). Data collected from interviews and news’ research.

³⁹⁹ According to Krause, about 120-130 million rands went to infrastructure and about 70-80 went to project management and soft interventions, as social programmes, economic development, public participation... to build trust (interview in 2017).

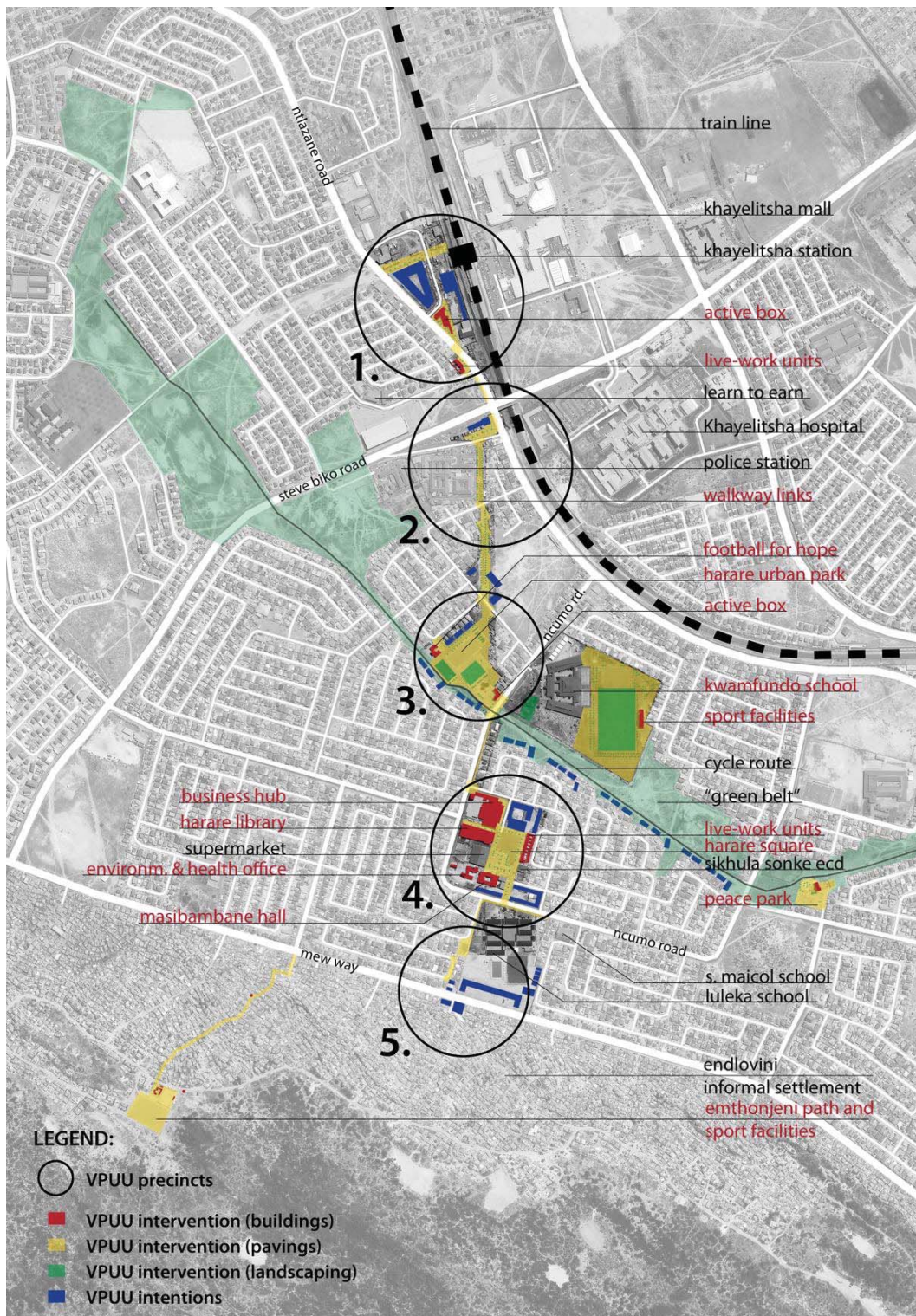


Fig. 84: Harare project map of interventions, by M. Bodino, 2018⁴⁰⁰

⁴⁰⁰ The map has been composed starting from the most recent NGI aerial photo (2014), adding to it the information about Harare VPUU project. The data have been extracted from the VPUU Harare pamphlet shared with the author, as well as from on-site research. The black text represents existing infrastructures/buildings, the red text shows what was implemented by VPUU.

Time is relevant because it allows to compare the initial *intentions* of the project and the actual *interventions*. The difference between these two shows difficulties in implementing the programme. In fact, Figure 84 without the blue buildings (VPUU intentions) is a quite different project, as shown in Figure 85 which represents the project actually implemented. In the following sections, the five precincts are analysed in details (from Figure 86 to Figure 92) showing the spatial modifications of space designed and realized. Moreover, also some notes about the socio-economic impact of the project will be provided. The overall impact of the urban intervention is described in the conclusion chapter (6.1), while some specific criticism about the project are provided in the chapter 5.3.3.1.

Time is relevant also because the CoCT considers the completed Harare VPPU project as the example for its integrative approach (chapter 4.2.2.3). In fact, it is locally promoted as *best practice* project for local and national public space interventions. Despite this political statement, an evaluation of the project in term of the impact of the creation of new public spaces has never been done by external researchers not involved with the project⁴⁰¹.

The analysis of the impact of the Harare VPUU projects starts from the idea that first of all local people asked for job opportunities. Because of the history of South Africa and economic inequality of the city, people living in disadvantaged areas continue to compare their situation to the rich one. And this continuous comparison plays a huge role in the perception and vision of urban spaces. In a sense, providing public spaces in these poorer areas means to return a denied right. At the same time, this improves trust through the creation of job opportunities, housing and security. These formal interventions are quite easy to identify, while smaller informal uses⁴⁰² of the new spaces generated by the urban acupuncture are more difficult to identify.

Probably, the most important element of the project is that it has attempted to give a physical space to the person moving on foot, to pedestrians. According to the author, this approach is not only culturally respectful, but it is inclusive. In fact, it does not depend on economic possibilities, but it provides a system of spaces which has the potential to become a meeting point, in terms of socio-economic and cultural exchanges. This approach is completely innovative in the contemporary South African context. In fact, it clashes with the usual design of public facilities and public open spaces of Khayelitsha⁴⁰³ (and not only). Since the slogan of the VPUU programme was to fight the crime, not enough attention has been given to this revolutionary approach proposed in term of improving public open infrastructure for the local community.

⁴⁰¹ VPUU claims to make post-occupancy evaluations, but firstly the point of view is internal and secondly these documents are not public and therefore difficult to validate.

⁴⁰² The word informal here is used meaning spontaneous and ordinary uses.

⁴⁰³ The common layout has been described through Figure 80.

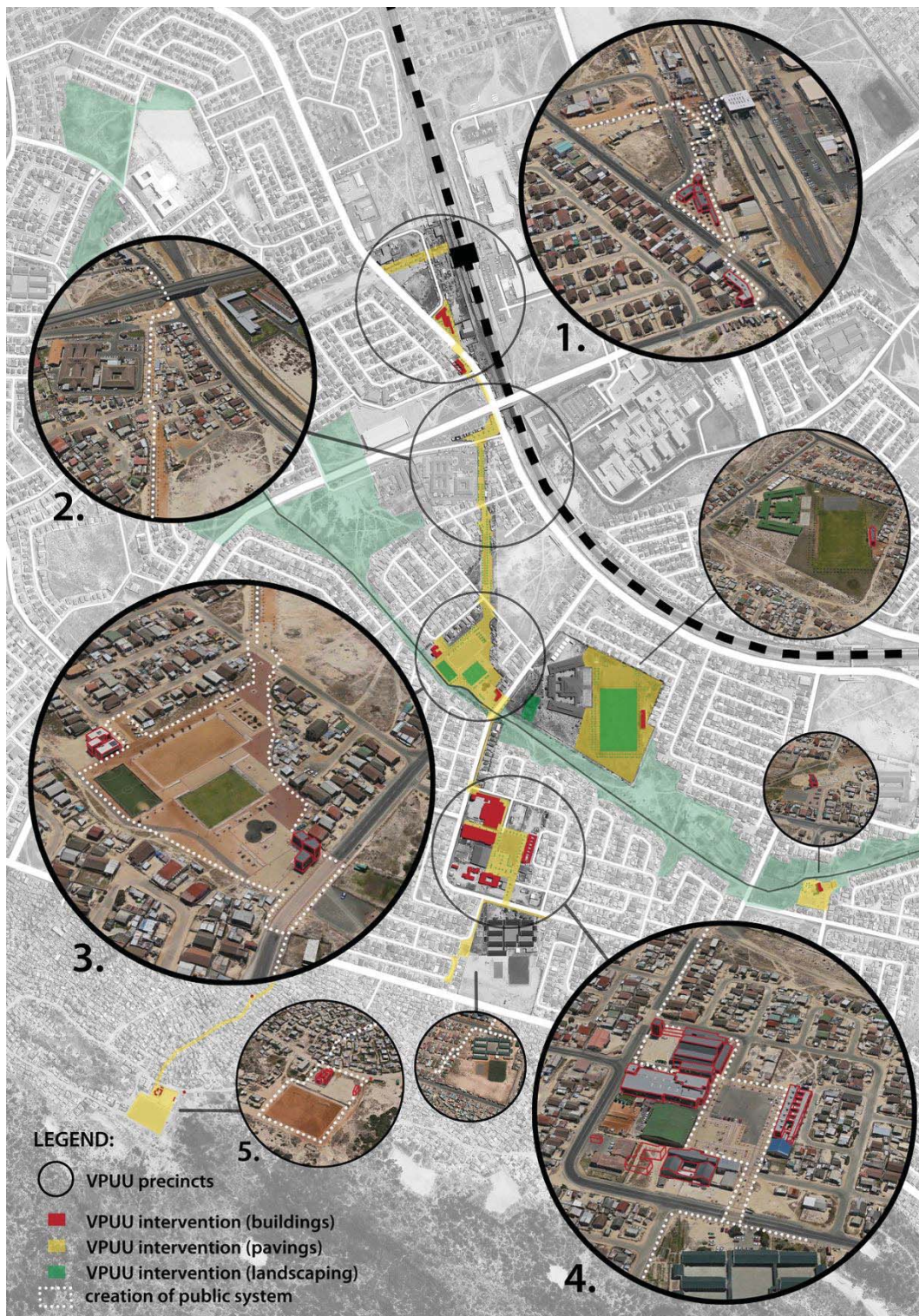


Fig. 85: Harare creation of public system, by M. Bodino, 2018⁴⁰⁴

⁴⁰⁴ The diagram shows the creation of a public system achieved in 10 years by VPUU despite the intentions. The 3d images have been extracted from Maps (Apple) – all right reserved. Retrieved April 3, 2018. The programme does not specify the year of the photos, but it is presumably within 2013 and 2014 (the Environmental and Health Office was not rebuilt yet – precinct 4).

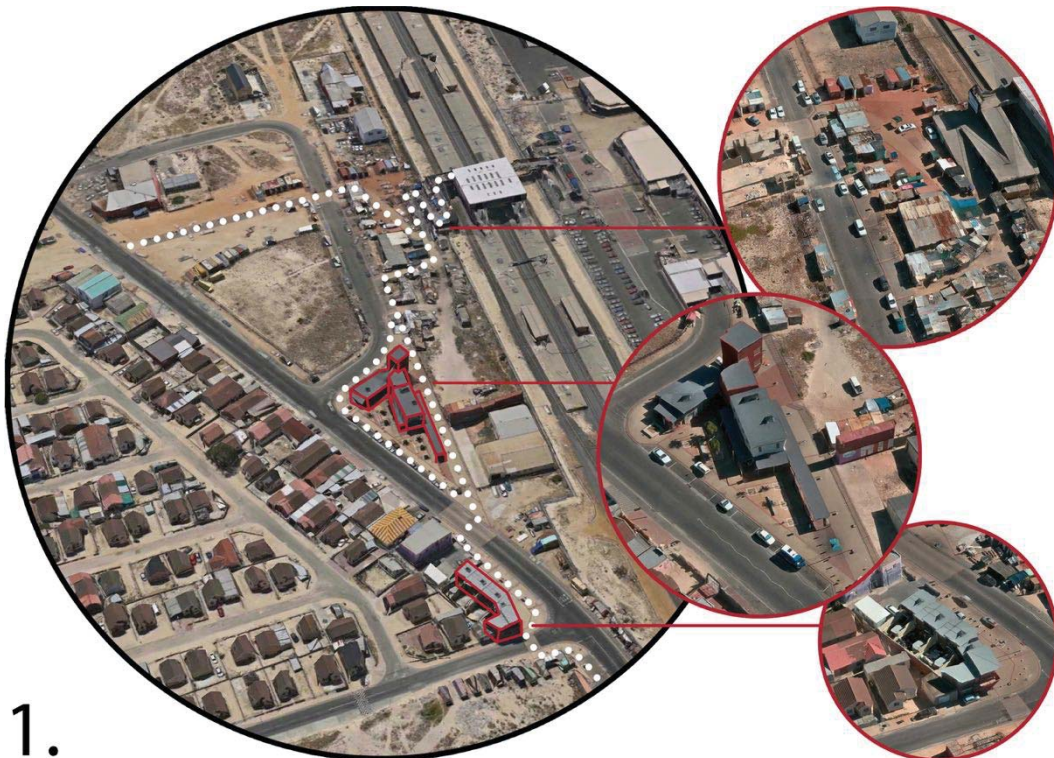
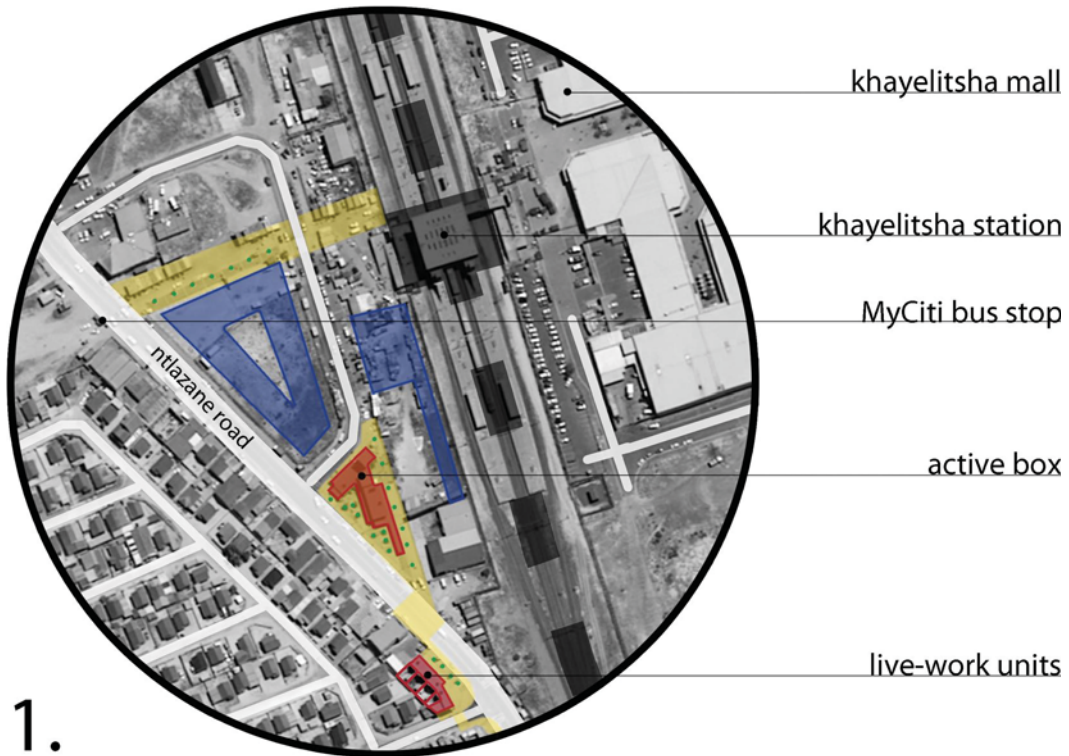


Fig. 86: Precinct 1, by M. Bodino, 2018⁴⁰⁵

⁴⁰⁵ The red circle images have been extracted in November 2018 by Maps (Apple): differences in the aerial views show that changes of the uses of the spaces are continuous.

The precinct n. 1 (Figure 86) includes the connection with the busy Khayelitsha station: a strategic area for economic opportunities. The recent MyCiti bus line⁴⁰⁶ arrives on Ntlazane Road and provide an alternative means of transportation, even if the stops have not been design within the VPUU project. In fact, the linear connection starting from the station and leading to the bus stop on the other side of the road⁴⁰⁷ does not even have a pedestrian crossing connecting with the VPUU path. The mall⁴⁰⁸ on the other side of the station contributes to make the area crowded. The west side of the public transport interchange consists of CoCT land, as well as privately owned land (James 2013). The area is still mainly occupied by informal traders or fenced and empty, while a collaborative vision for a Khayelitsha Business District has been proposed since original VPUU plans⁴⁰⁹, but it has been never realized (blue areas). Therefore, the paving of the path in front of the station failed in activating the space. Some paving very close to the station have been simply occupied again by informal shacks used as shops. The active box acts as a landmark being clearly visible when exiting from Khayelitsha station ramp. This area works pretty well since it is intentionally situated in a very busy and passing place. The shape of the building creates a good balance between passing zones used by pedestrian and some parking spaces for cars. The active box host small spaces used for commercial activities at the ground floor and some bigger spaces at the first and second floors which can be used from the local community. Most of the people which rent the economic shops at the ground floor where people who were informally using that same space before the intervention. Water, electricity and more hygienic conditions where provided to them in this new spatial configuration⁴¹⁰. The formal spaces are quite small even if they include canopies whose space is usable during the activity hours. The live-work units on Ntlazane road provide other commercial activities on the street and housing spaces at the upper floor. They are set back from the street allowing the shops at the ground floor to interact more with the pedestrian public space even if this space is often used as a parking. In conclusion, the mediation between the city and local people achieved positive results in the creation of the active box and the live-work units. At the same time, VPUU has

⁴⁰⁶ MyCiti is a Bus Rapid Transport (BRT) service promoted in 2007 for 2010 World Cup. It is a system concentrated mainly in the city bowl. Two lines have been recently added connecting the centre with Khayelitsha and with Mitchell's Plain through N2 highway. It has been more a political decision than an inclusion attempt.

⁴⁰⁷ Moreover, this linear connection had not the power to activate the empty space next to it. Potentially it can connect this precinct with the existing green belt of Harare.

⁴⁰⁸ The mall has been built between 1999 and 2008 according to NGI aerial photos.

⁴⁰⁹ Another attempt to find a solution for this area has been discussed thanks to Play the City company (Future Cape Town 2015) within the events connected to the World Design Capital.

⁴¹⁰ It is quite interesting that, during some interviews, the formality and the beauty of the new shops have been shown both as positive and negative aspects. In fact, some people were happy and proud of their space, some complained because that aesthetic attention attracts thieves and therefore somehow worsens their sense of security.

failed in designing and implementing the area right in front of the station, where informal activities have endured. Moreover, the triangular area between the station and Ntlazane road has activities – and therefore people – just during the day, since the station and the shops are closed in the dark.

The precinct n. 2 (Figure 87) consists of the pedestrian link between the station and the urban park area. It is passing under the bridge of Steve Biko road and then crossing an existing housing area with two public buildings (a health facility and a police station). Those public buildings are designed in the middle of their plots, surrounded by fences or walls⁴¹¹. They have no relation with the surrounding except the entrance with a small building normally hosting the guardian. The objective of the VPUU plan has been to pave the path, inserting lighting, landscaping and sitting place (vase holders are built to serve as benches also). Maintenance issues were visible during the second sojourn of the author, when some lights were stolen and some pieces from the block paving were removed. These problems are probably connected with the fact that the activation of the edges along the pedestrian route has partially failed since most of the path is still defined by an empty land (especially on the east side in the southern part). According to Geretto and Krause, this empty area was supposed to host a school. Now the zoning defines the area for housing, but timing for implementation are not clear (interviews 2017). Existing planning shows in this specific case the lack of hierarchy in the planning: this empty plot is not developed yet and it is potentially used by a huge amount of people in Harare⁴¹² to access to Makaya neighbourhood on the other side of the train line and vice-versa. This vacant land represents a challenge and also an opportunity. In fact, walking in the pedestrian VPUU route, this linear path is the one in which the users (author included) perceive the lowest level of safety. At the same time, some small activities and some housing along the route started to face the path instead of building wall towards it. The original VPUU intention was to build active boxes (blue rectangles in the diagram⁴¹³) to activate the path, provide passive surveillance and to formalize some informal activities. However, those buildings have never been developed in their design nor realised. In the north areas, below and next to the bridge many activities spontaneously started to use the spaces: some containers are converted as shops, and vase holders and trees became the place to start small local economies.

⁴¹¹ This layout reflects the one described in Figure 80.

⁴¹² Thanks to the pedestrian bridge crossing the railway lines.

⁴¹³ The position, the shape of the preliminary project by VPUU seems to lack relationship with the context, especially for the three rectangles in the southern area.

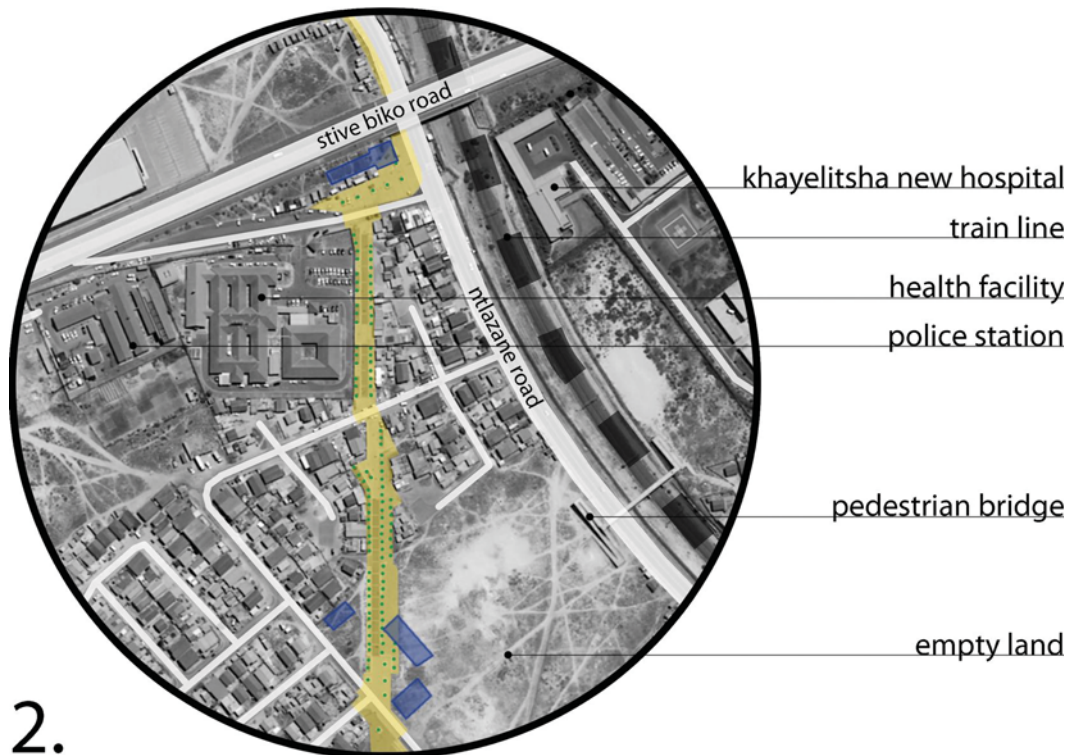


Fig. 87: Precinct 2, by M. Bodino, 2018⁴¹⁴

⁴¹⁴ The red circle images have been extracted in November 2018 by Maps (Apple): differences in the aerial views show that changes of the uses of the spaces are continuous.

The precinct n. 3 (Figure 88) is called recreational area or Harare urban park. The area works as the landscape hinge for the project which engage with the climate and flooding issues for the neighbourhood. It should connect with one of the two supposed Khayelitsha *green belt*⁴¹⁵. The area comprises the *football for hope* centre and the active box on Ncumo road⁴¹⁶. The internal space includes an artificial turf field, a gravel field, a grass pitch and children play area: public open spaces not fenced. The biggest field (the gravel one) acts not only as a sport field but also as a detention pond in case of flooding. It is a pleasant space, even if quite big⁴¹⁷. A cycle route defines the south edge of the Harare urban park crossing the *green belt*. In reality, the *green belt* is useful during the raining season, but it is considered a dangerous area: a neglected and abandoned area used mostly as a litter zone. Most of the buildings along this area are oriented on the opposite side, intensifying the perception of fear crossing the space⁴¹⁸. The sand of the vacant lands often invades the paved cycle route. These no man's land is under the control of local gangs who used these spaces to affirm their power. Even if in a negative way, these spaces can be considered as a spontaneous public space since it provides a place for encounter for young people. The edges of these spaces do not exist, lighting is lacking as well as care of the place. However, the presence of gangs reminds the fragility of this socio-economic environment, which cannot be twisted simply by a planning decision. The intention of VPUU was to construct buildings (blue rectangles in the diagram) to activate the south edge of the park from the Harare urban park to the area called Peace park⁴¹⁹. That connection never happened, causing the isolation and the failure of Peace park intervention, even if some playground has been implemented. On the east side of Ncumo road there is the Kwamfundo secondary school: an isolated building within its plot. VPUU built a sport facility within the school area and provided a sport field which is used both from the students and from the community. The spatial approach of this intervention does not change the structure of the fenced plot which is oriented inwards. Moreover, the orientation of the new building does not relate with the housing pattern, preventing a spatial relation between the two.

⁴¹⁵ Two empty area have been left in parallel to the train line. These areas never worked as parks, but have been gradually filled by housing or left as empty spaces: no man's land. The cycle route also crosses the green belt, intersecting the Harare project in the urban park area. The green belt area is still useful during the raining season, but are considered dangerous area to go.

⁴¹⁶ The active box hosts the caretaker apartment on the first floor, a community space at the ground floor. Other spaces at the ground floor were rented for other activity. During the field work, most of the time these spaces were empty or closed.

⁴¹⁷ The proportion between the width of the open area and the single-storey buildings surrounding it is quite unbalanced. The edges of the open space would require two or three-storey buildings.

⁴¹⁸ For security reason the author never walked in this area.

⁴¹⁹ The name of this area is used by VPUU, but locally no-one refers to the area with this term. The VPUU project here consisted in an active box which host a caretaker house, some community spaces at the ground floor and a children play-area outside.

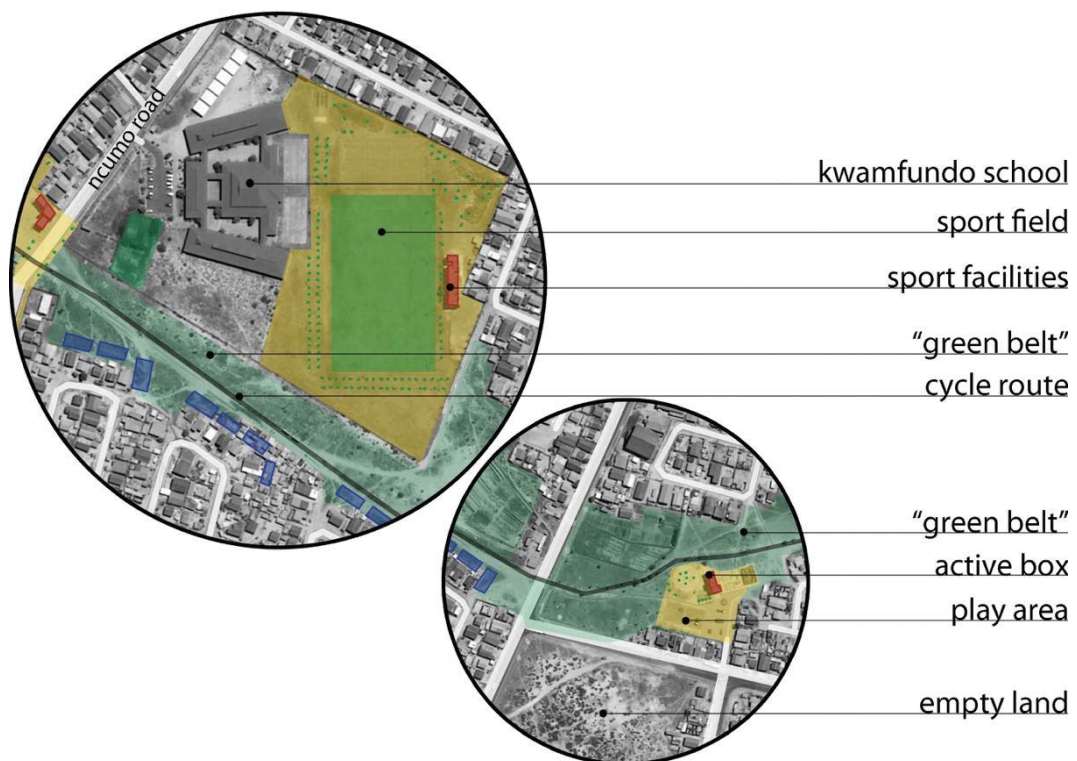
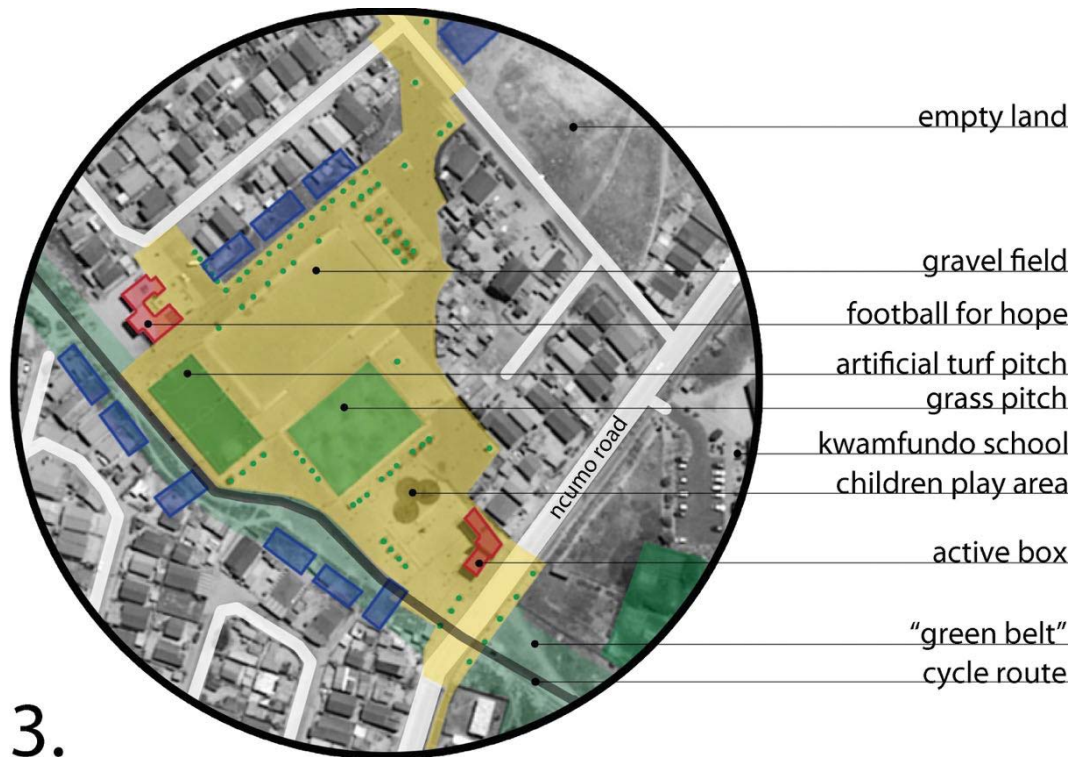


Fig. 88: Precinct 3, by M. Bodino, 2018

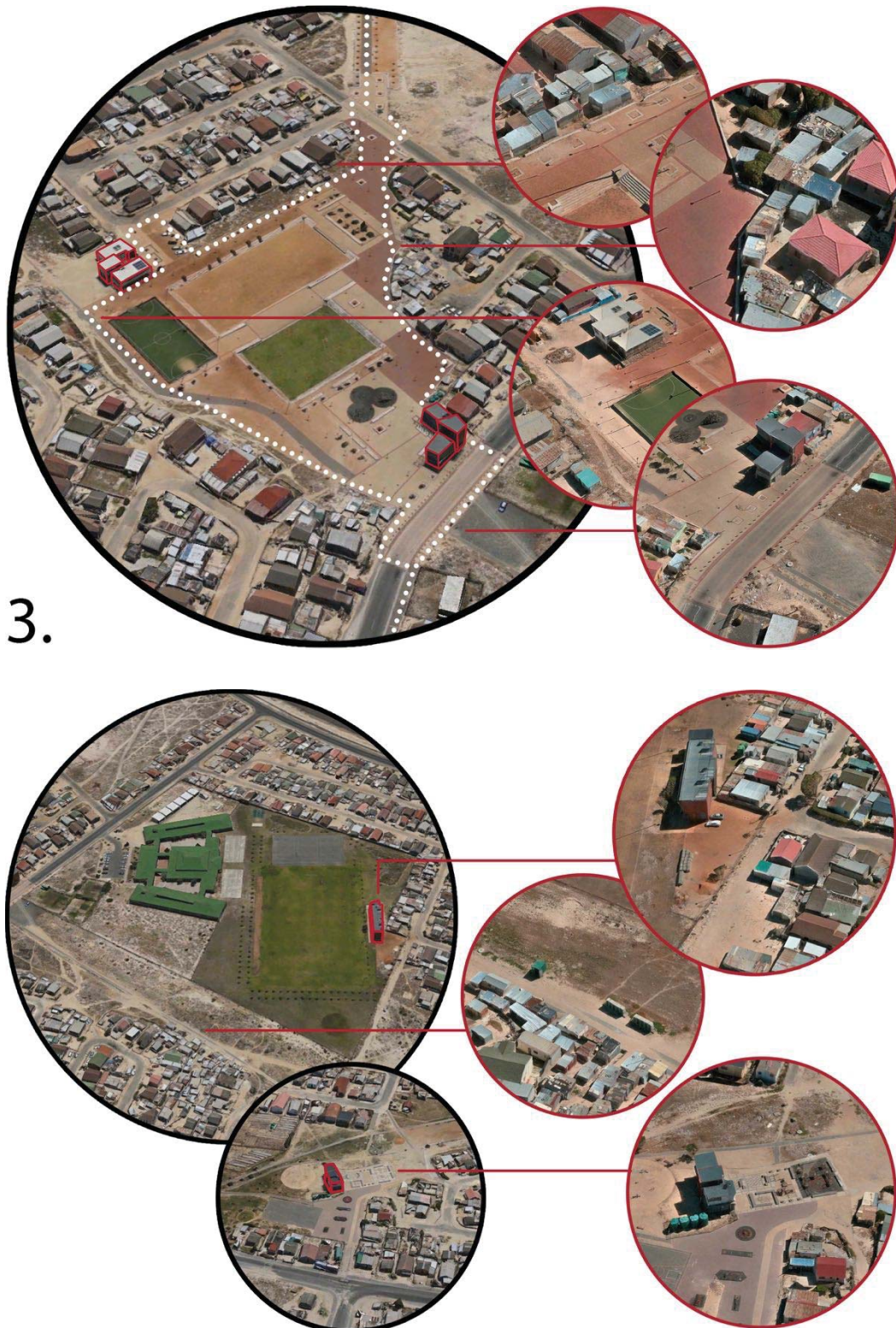


Fig. 88: Precinct 3, by M. Bodino, 2018⁴²⁰

⁴²⁰ The red circle images have been extracted in November 2018 by Maps (Apple): differences in the aerial views show that changes of the uses of the spaces are continuous.

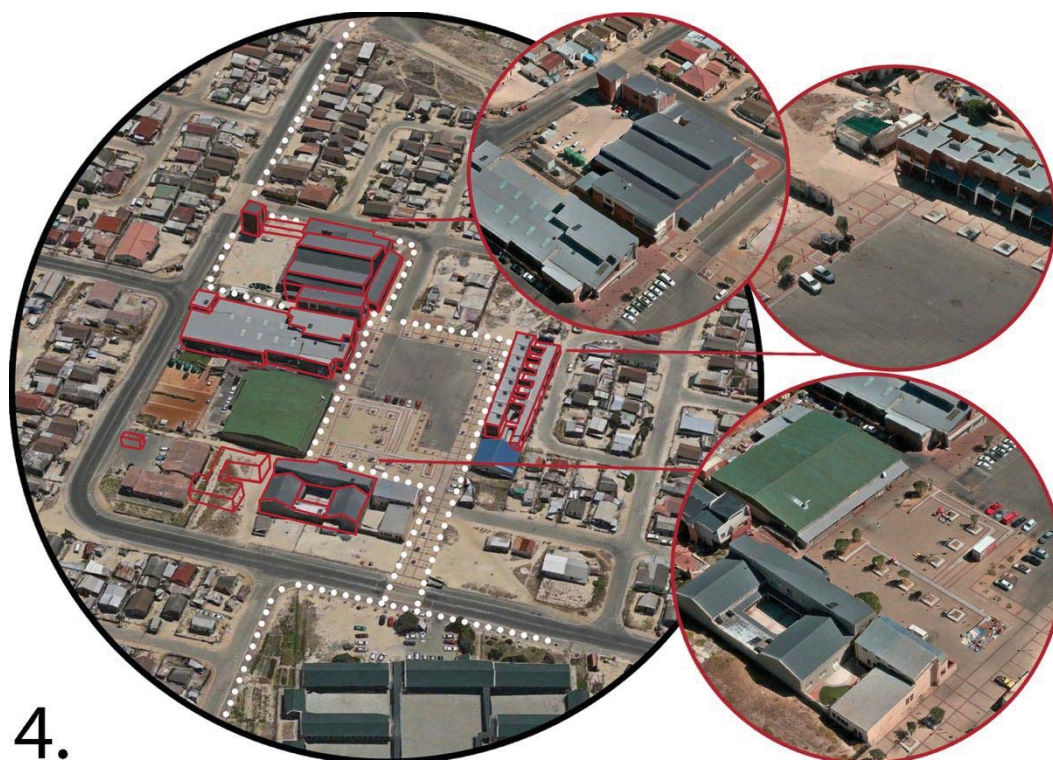
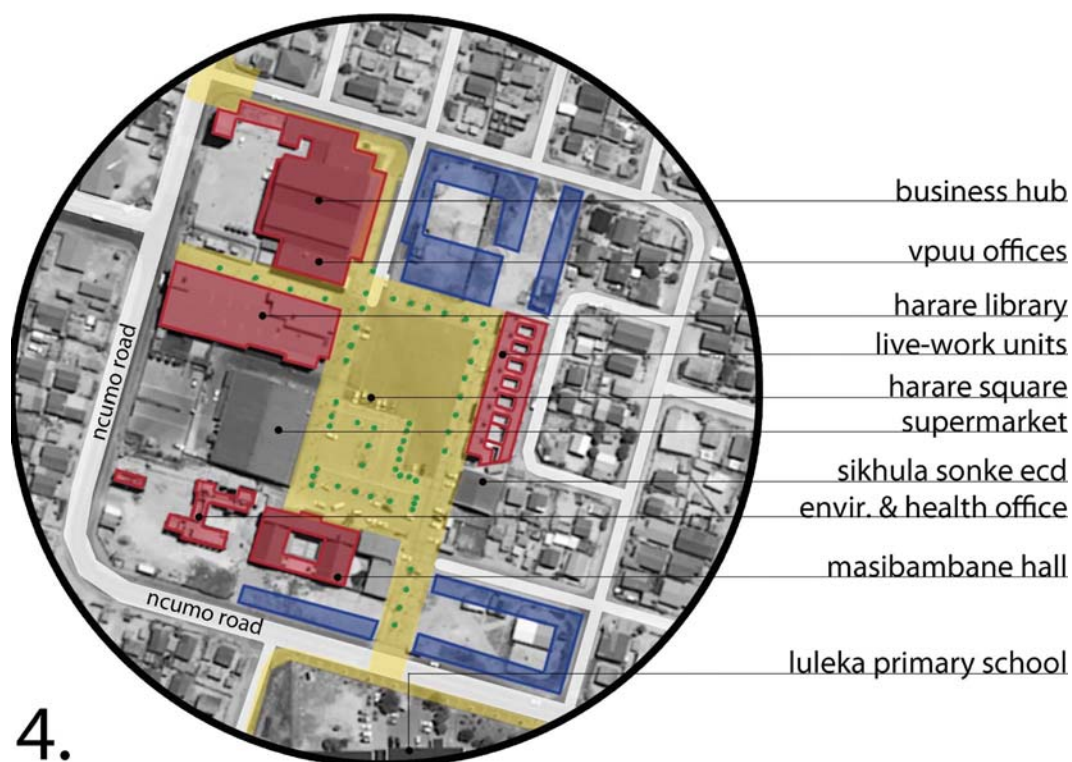


Fig. 89: Precinct 4, by M. Bodino, 2018⁴²¹

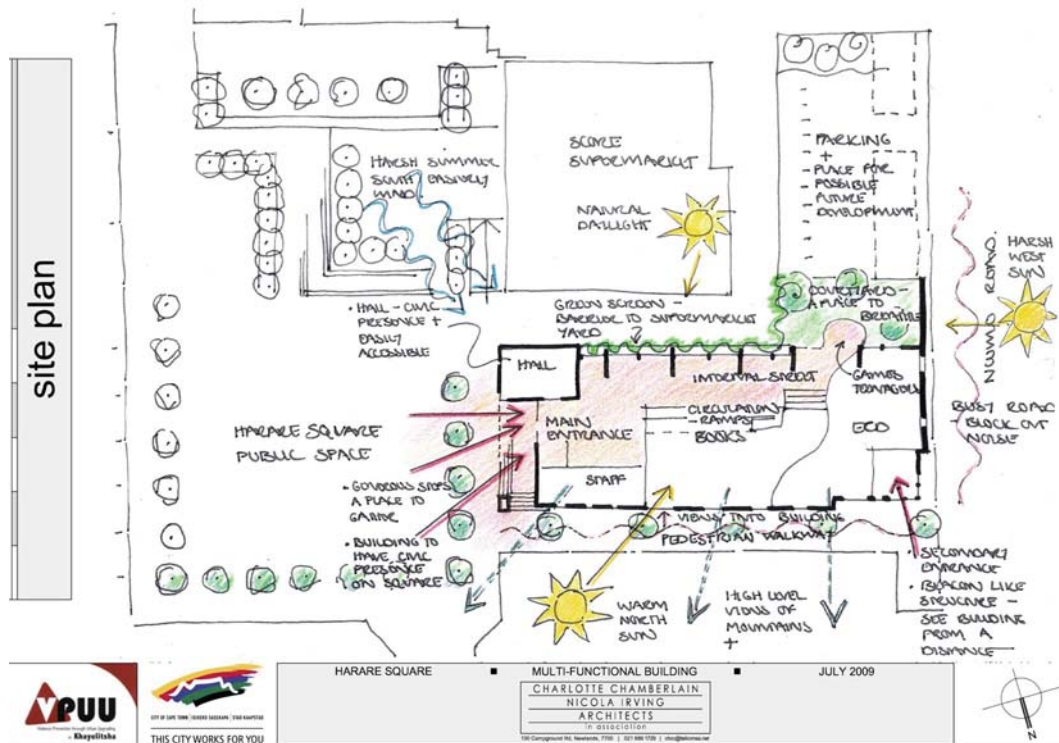
⁴²¹ The red circle images have been extracted in November 2018 by Maps (Apple): differences in the aerial views show that changes of the uses of the spaces are continuous.

The precinct n. 4 (Figure 89) is the area around Harare square. It can be considered as the core of the project in terms of activity and built space. The proportion between buildings and open spaces works very well and the density has been increased. Before the intervention it was a sandy, sloped, abandoned area with very few activities around it. Today just one side of the square is undefined (north side)⁴²² and the concentration of activities during the day creates a nice atmosphere. The central space uses the slope to create two different levels. The upper part (south side) is dedicated mainly to pedestrian use while the lower one (north side) is accessible by car. The most important building of the square is the Harare library (Figure 90, Figure 91 and Appendix 4.2), which attracts people from all over Khayelitsha (Patel *et al.*, 2015) and acts as a multi-functional building. Its design, by Charlotte Chamerlain and Nicola Irving Architects, is simple and contemporary at the same time. The greatest novelty is that the building is positioned at the edges of its plot, with the entrance that connects directly with the square, inviting people to enter. Next to the library, divided by a nice pedestrian walkway, a big plot has been designed at the edge to host the so-called *business hub*, which includes spaces of different dimensions rented by young entrepreneurs, local commercial activities, no profit organizations, community based organizations⁴²³... Towards Ncumo road motor vehicles can easily access to the backyard, while the north and east side is conceived for pedestrian use. The west side of the square has been completed, including an existing supermarket on the upper part. The east side is defined thanks to live-work units which has different activities at the ground floor and housing spaces in the upper floor. The side toward the square works quite well, whereas the opposite side (east façade) is quite problematic since it is conceived as a backyard but it faces a road. Window grates have been added to provide more security to the spaces. The south and upper side of the square host the existing Masibambane Hall, which have been renewed by VPUU. The building now hosts the Councillor office and the Youth Life Centre which organize and involve young people and teenagers of the neighbourhood. The Environmental and Health Office was already in one of the corner of the square, but initially quite isolated from it. The new VPUU design of the building⁴²⁴ moved it toward the square making it more visible and accessible from the square itself. Nevertheless, this is one of the few VPUU building that has fences along all the edges. The private supermarket and the community based organization Sikhula Sonke ECD are the only two existing activities before the VPUU intervention which have remained in the same space.

⁴²² Some proposals have been by VPUU (like to insert a church), but until today no agreement has been found in order to occupy properly this empty piece of land.

⁴²³ Initially one of the spaces was also shared by local young entrepreneurs as a co-working space. During the field work that space did not exist anymore: it was occupied by a VPUU office.

⁴²⁴ The project is by the architect Jackie James in association with Charlotte Chamerlain and Nicola Irving Architects.

Fig. 90: Harare library site plan, VPUU 2009⁴²⁵Fig. 91: Harare square and library views, by M. Bodino, 2018⁴²⁶

⁴²⁵ The drawing has been done by the architects (Charlotte Chamberlain and Nicola Irving) and has been shared with the author. The image is interesting because it explains the intention of the project: the connection of the ground floor entrance of the library with the square. The same paving material (brick floor) of the square enters the building to underline the project intentions. Climatic aspects and orientation have been part of the project since the beginning to reduce operational cost while guaranteeing the indoor comfort.

⁴²⁶ The aerial views have been extracted in November 2018 by Maps (Apple). They show the square and the library from different perspectives.

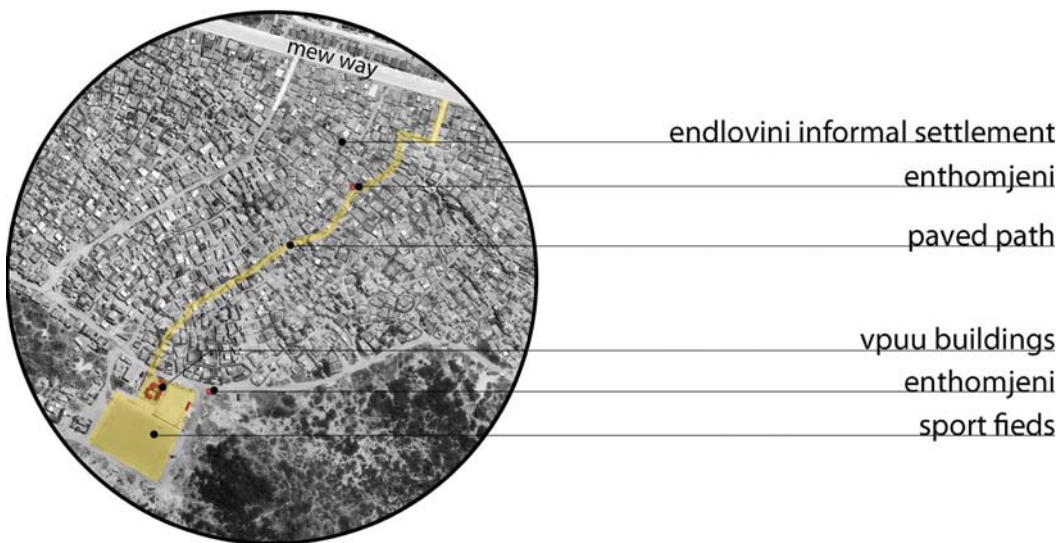
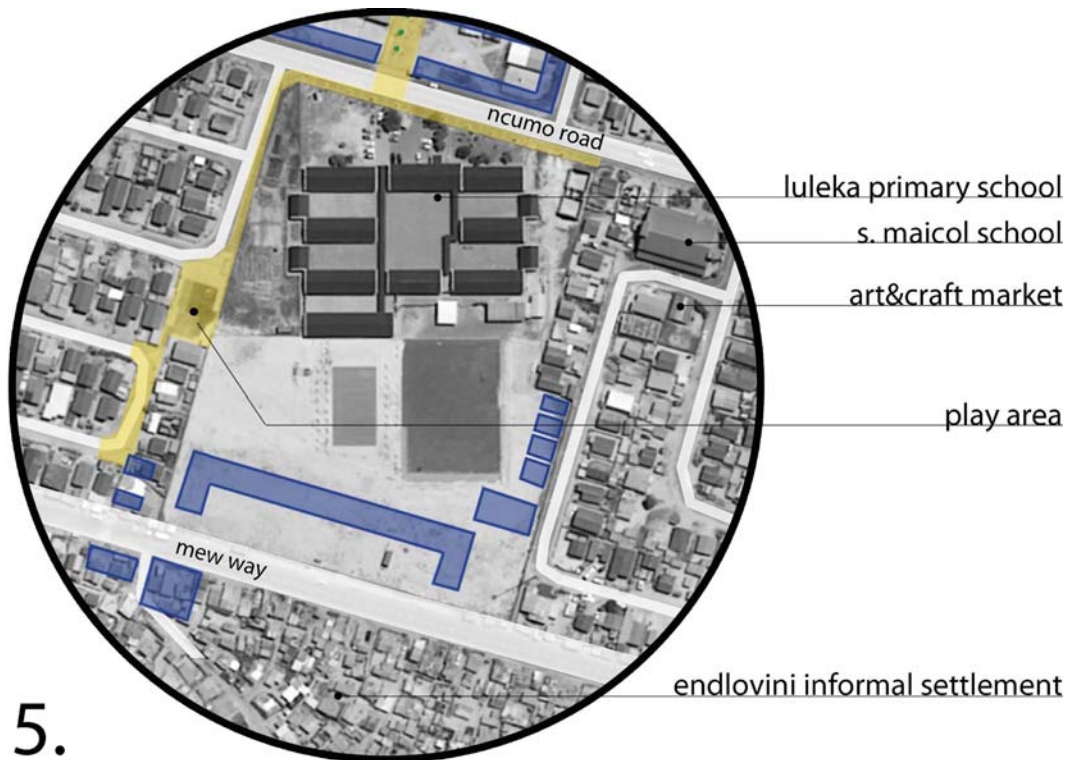


Fig. 92: Precinct 5, by M. Bodino, 2018



Fig. 92: Precinct 5, by M. Bodino, 2018⁴²⁷

The precinct n. 5 (Figure 92) is the connection space between Harare and the Endlovini informal settlement. The VPUU intervention has been conceived to activate the edges of Mey Way road. The north side buildings were supposed to occupy the Luleka Primary School plot. Despite the attempt, a formal solution to implement the project was not found, while aerial images show that informal activities mushroomed along the road using small shacks and containers. At the same time, it is also true that Mey Way road is not directly connected with the safe path created from the station⁴²⁸. The path physically arrives at the entrance of the school, but then there are no roads crossing the housing plots to Endlovini informal settlement. One of the most interesting part of VPUU programme is the improvement of existing routes in Endlovini and the creation of Emthonjeni spaces⁴²⁹ (Ewing 2017). Emthonjenis are not directly part of VPUU Harare project, and they are commonly known within the project of Monwabisi Park Safe Node Area. They are quoted here since they have been created after VPUU Harare project and thanks to the place-making process created within this local community. Emthonjeni project consists of the creation of small places of learning

⁴²⁷ The red circle images have been extracted in November 2018 by Maps (Apple): differences in the aerial views show that changes of the uses of the spaces are continuous.

⁴²⁸ Without intervening in a set of private housing plots it would be not possible to connect directly Ncumbo Road with Mey Way Road.

⁴²⁹ <http://vpuu.org.za/success-story/emthonjeni-success-story/>

and socialization within the informal settlement. These spaces can be considered as small public open spaces defined around a public tap area. On one hand, Emthonjenis are used by local CBOs⁴³⁰ for Early Child Development activities⁴³¹. On the other hand, “it is also a space for adult social socializing, and the provision of services and utilities including, where appropriate, water and clothes-washing point, which is the origin of the suggested name”⁴³². The provision of adequate paving of a path within the informal settlement is part of the VPUU intervention. The path connects Mew Way with the opposite of Endlovini, where a sport area and some VPUU offices have been developed. The spontaneously shaped pattern of Endlovini demonstrates that some communal spaces were needed, even if small and poorly planned. These spaces represent simple ordinary forms of socialization.

The interventions in the five precincts have in common the integrative approach⁴³³ but also the spatial approach. The new public open spaces have been spatially improved and they are functional because they introduce a hierarchy. Since they are linked between them, they produce a *public system: an infrastructure* in the monotonous urban pattern. Even if the buildings have been designed by different architects the image of the project is uniform. The use of same material and colours in all VPUU intervention gives the project a uniformity and provide landmarks easy to be recognized. It is coherent with the context, but also it is very innovative for it in terms of quality and approach.

At the same time, given the huge amount of vacant land in the neighbourhood, some edges of public open spaces are not yet completed. Many empty spaces outside the safe path are still there. This demonstrates how difficult is to intervene in such a context. However, a smaller linear intervention but completed in all its parts could have been more effective. Despite some critics, the overall perception of the VPUU spaces is very positive within the community. And that feeling is confirmed by the fact that there are few cases of vandalism in the area. It is quite difficult to affirm with certainty that crime has reduced or has been relocated, but for sure the perception of fear has diminished if we observe the use of space. Also, the library space is considered as the most interesting and nice building⁴³⁴, helping to make people proud of being from Harare. Therefore, VPUU project have helped local people to improve their perception of the neighbourhood⁴³⁵.

⁴³⁰ For example, Sikhula Sonke which is based in Harare Square since before VPUU intervention.

⁴³¹ That is part of the Social Crime Prevention activities of VPUU (refer to Figure 45).

⁴³² Text extracted from <http://vpuu.org.za/success-story/emthonjeni-success-story/>. Retrieved April 06, 2018.

⁴³³ The integrative approach combines bottom-up with top-down approach.

⁴³⁴ The former librarian who worked there (Mr. Ayanda Rawutini) told the author that the space was literally full of people after the opening. People of the neighbourhood were visiting it like a museum, fascinated by its quality (interview February 22, 2017).

⁴³⁵ This does not mean that Harare now is a perfect place and there are no problems.

Observing the aerial historical photos of the zone, the amount of open and undefined land before the project implementation gives an idea of design negligence. The attempt of VPUU has been to design a piece of this no man's land defining its vague or non-existent edges (Figures 93-94-95-96). The great novelty of VPUU approach is that it has designed the open spaces and the buildings together, one in function of the other. Some other empty plots have been filled with housing or private/ public interventions between 1999 and 2014⁴³⁶. Nevertheless, the design of these buildings simply reproduced the common pattern of modernism, typical of Khayelitsha. There is no research regarding the relationship with the context in order to make the building working better, but also to redefine the role of public space. Moreover, despite the efforts, many plots of land close to the project are still abandoned. In order to link the aerial photos with public place policies, it has to be reminded that Dignified Place Programme lasted from 1999 to 2008, when it was replaced by Quality Public Space programme which lasted until 2011. In the meanwhile, the World Cup of 2010 – as described in chapter 4.2.2.2 – influenced and modified the focus of public place policies. Harare project by VPUU sets itself between QPS programme and World Cup legacy projects⁴³⁷ and it has also strong political implications. Not by chance, the project includes public spaces for the local community as well as public spaces linked to sport facilities inaugurated for the World Cup. The precinct 3 has been shaped as an urban park with recreational areas and has been identified by FIFA as ideal place to locate the *Football for Hope* centre. The Harare park area has also been used to launch the World Design Capital⁴³⁸ in 2014, which have promoted co-designed workshop and many projects for the area. One of the symbols of the project became Harare library, which acts as a vibrant space for the community. Many researchers, like the author, have been attracted by the integrative project who have used architecture and urban design to upgrade the township. Workshops and visitors from all around the world started to arrive in Harare. There is no doubt that events and promotional publications like the ones described above have not been possible without the VPUU project. At the same time, the relevant result is that the media attention helped to show a positive aspect of the township, shifting the perception of Khayelitsha even just a little bit far away from bias. It is also true that the Harare VPUU project have improved the neighbourhood, but did not have the power, nor the scale to restructure it.

⁴³⁶ The mall, the hospital and some housing have been built in the empty plots. Also, the railway line has been extended.

⁴³⁷ According to Krause and Alastair, the QPS defined 100 projects for the World Cup to create places to screen the event in the whole Cape Town. Then the political commitment was reduced to 24 spaces (corresponding to the number of the sub-councils). At the end, just one – the Harare project – has been realized since there was already the project. Nonetheless, the FIFA regulation did not allow to use the Harare space to screen the event due to their strict regulation.

⁴³⁸ <http://www.wdccapecetown2014.com/about/the-themes>. Retrieved March 31, 2018.

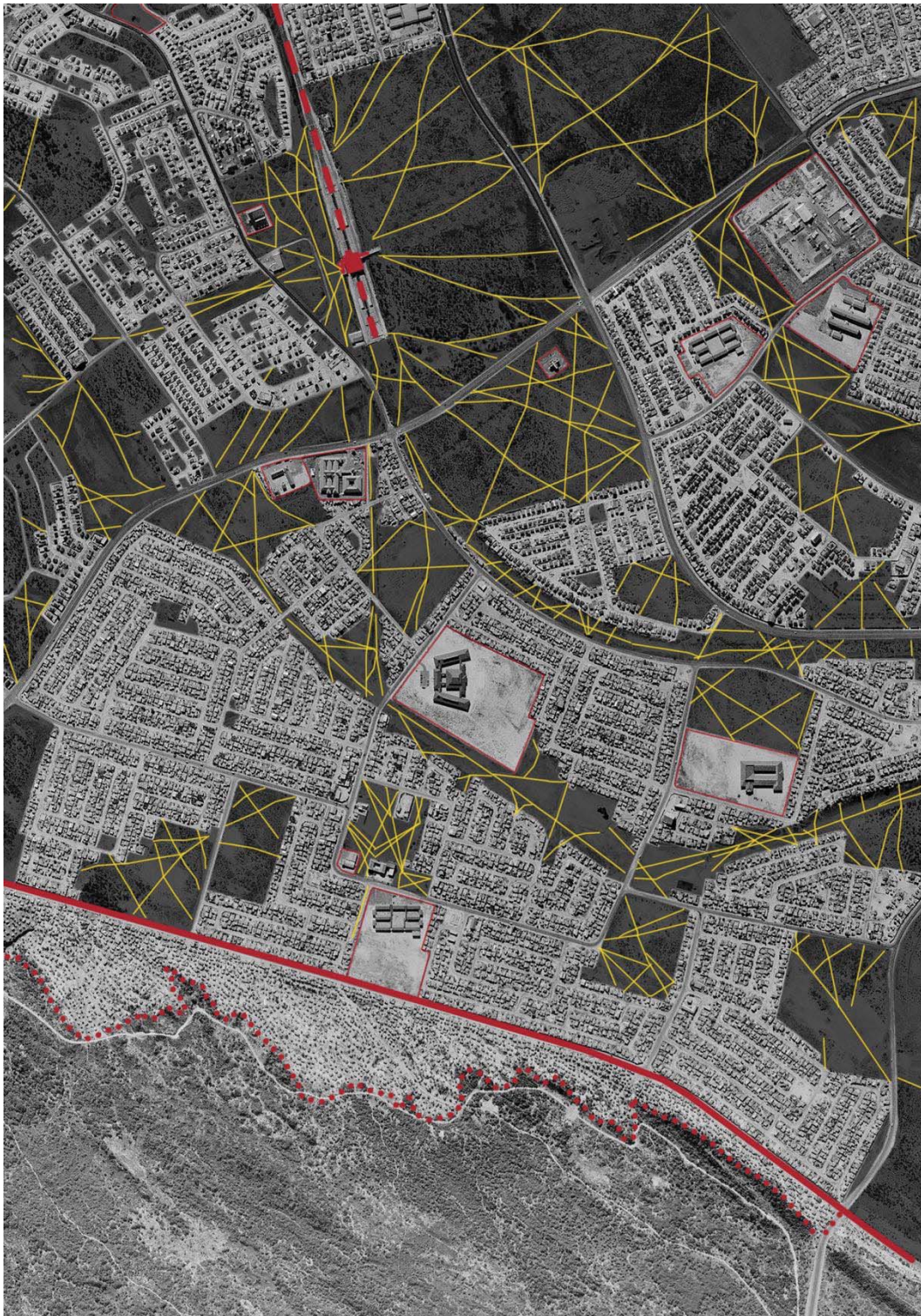


Fig. 93: Spontaneous use of open spaces (1999), by M. Bodino, 2018 ⁴³⁹

⁴³⁹ The diagram uses the aerial photo of Harare area of intervention. Data source: National Geo-spatial Information (NGI) Department. (Retrieved by NGI office March 3, 2016).



Fig. 94: Spontaneous use of open spaces (2008), by M. Bodino, 2018 ⁴⁴⁰

⁴⁴⁰ The diagram uses the aerial photo of Harare area of intervention. Data source: National Geo-spatial Information (NGI) Department. (Retrieved by NGI office March 3, 2016).

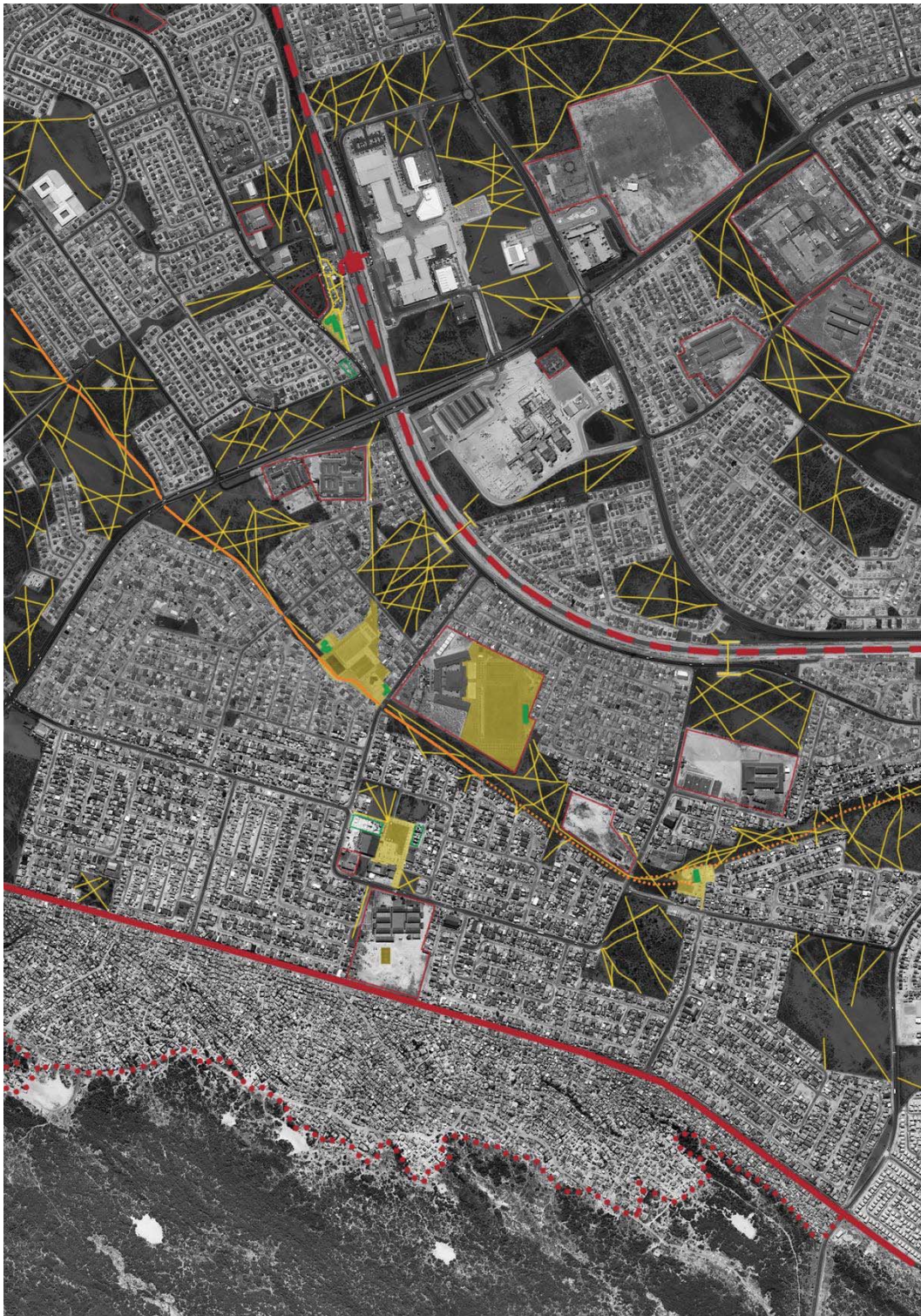


Fig. 95: Spontaneous use of open spaces (2010), by M. Bodino, 2018 ⁴⁴¹

⁴⁴¹ The diagram uses the aerial photo of Harare area of intervention. Data source: National Geo-spatial Information (NGI) Department. (Retrieved by NGI office March 3, 2016).



Fig. 96: Spontaneous use of open spaces (2014), by M. Bodino, 2018 ⁴⁴²

⁴⁴² The diagram uses the aerial photo of Harare area of intervention. Data source: National Geo-spatial Information (NGI) Department. (Retrieved by NGI office March 3, 2016).

5.3.3.1 Notes about Harare project

From the analysis of the Harare VPUU project some notes can be extracted, which can be useful to reframe the concept of public space and to reflect on the possibility of restructuring contemporary fragmented cities by intervening in the public structure.

Harare VPUU project has many aspects in common with DPP and QPS in terms of scale, location and political involvement⁴⁴³. These are aspects have been critical for DPP and QPS⁴⁴⁴, and they are also critical about VPUU programme. In fact, those limitation have replicated somehow. Moreover, the explicit renewed attention towards public space of DPP and QPS became implicit – and then the somehow of less importance – in VPUU. However, innovative features (like the public-private partnership, the project as a system of public space instead of a single building intervention...) have been described in the previous chapter. The analysis of the project focused on space, on the relation between open space and buildings, and on the ordinary use of these as infrastructure. When referring to *ordinary*⁴⁴⁵, the author means that she has attempt to describe the spatial features as observed, taking into account uses, diversities and complexities. Through interviews and thanks to time spent on site, it can be deducted that ordinary use of public spaces around Harare VPUU project has improved, if considering people and their local urban life as fundamental. The small, ordinary positive changes of people life in Khayelitsha represent a huge impact for the author since those ordinary small moves have been considered important from the beginning of the research. Therefore, the positive feedback about the public open space in Harare collected by the author⁴⁴⁶ informed and reinforce the feeling that a different design and perception of public space may really affect *ordinary lives* or *lives of people in ordinary space*. The analysis has been also interested in informal activities and uses of the space mingled with formal space designed by VPUU: these ordinary activities (both formal and informal) show the pace and continuity of urban transformation, which have been eventually activated also by the VPUU project.

VPUU programme is a South African example, but it has used urban design references coming from the international urban discipline (among others Crane 1960, Lynch 1960, Jacobs 1961, Gehl 1991 and the most recent Hamdi 2004).

⁴⁴³ Some operational and maintenance issues also showed up in these years and are not very different from the one of DPP and QPS.

⁴⁴⁴ See chapter 4.2.2.1.

⁴⁴⁵ See chapter 3.1.2.

⁴⁴⁶ Some examples: small entrepreneurs open their activities in their neighbourhood instead of crossing the city to find work; public buildings have not been vandalized, on the contrary people considered them beautiful; people walk also alone and not just in groups because the perception of fear is decreased; people from the city centre or even from abroad come to visit the renewed spaces etc.

The spatial tools utilized by VPUU are not new, but have been combined and contextualized as to be applicable to the urban periphery of Cape Town in an innovative way. Some of them represent a great novelty if compared to the existing situation. One of the critiques of post-war planning theory described by Taylor is that “plans might be better conceived as flexible strategies” (Taylor 1998, 45). The same critiques could be applied to the Harare VPUU project, whose control over physical details have been managed completely by VPUU, and lacks a form of flexibility over time, especially regarding its aesthetic aspects. In fact, VPUU buildings do not envisage spaces suitable for extensions built by people according to their possibilities. Just different typologies of live-work units allow some flexibility (Appendix 4.4). A more systemic approach (Taylor 1998, 59) would be necessary to take into account a greater number of elements. In these case, the explicit objective – and therefore the title – of the programme would change, and it should include social and ecological policies in strategic locations as well as widespread interventions to affect different aspects of the real situation. In this case, the city would be considered as a complex system in which planning consist of “a process of rational action” (Taylor 1998, 68). According to this point of view, monitoring and feedback are as important as the definition of problems and goals and they should be involved and shared in each project. Since the core is the process and not the project, there would be no traditional design-based solution, but an ongoing, continuous process of learning and changing space (Taylor 1998, 69).

The analysis of the Harare project is useful to extrapolate spatial principles⁴⁴⁷ with the intent to define the role of public open space in Khayelitsha. The public space provided is positive thanks to these features, which define its quality and its innovation. In the following pages, six photographs of Harare VPUU projects have been schematised to represent six positive spatial features described below. These are not and don’t want to be design solutions⁴⁴⁸. They just show that the analysis of the ordinary is complex. Through these ideas, the author attempts to find small but relevant indicators or lens through which reframe the narrative of separation in Cape Town and eventually of other contemporary cities. In fact, the neglect and absence of quality public space is unfortunately common in many other cities around the world. Therefore, the ideas presented can help to reframe the role and the complexity of public spaces more generally.

Learning from attempts to desegregation in Cape Town and from attempts to create inclusive and human-centred spaces, a set of critical spatial lenses through which to reframe the public space can be summarized as follows:

⁴⁴⁷ The spatial principles applied by VPUU are part of a more complex model for intervention. This research will not focus on institutional or social crime prevention, but just on the situational crime prevention since it involves spatial aspects.

⁴⁴⁸ Moreover, the maps and diagrams displayed in this thesis often lack socio-economic, cultural, ecological attention.

- **network of spaces** (Figure 97). The township has been planned according to the narrative of separation. In order to foster inclusion a change of perspective is needed: the narrative of inclusion needs that public structure works as an infrastructure (in sense of social, cultural, economic and political system). This infrastructure can also be called a hierarchical system where the network of public spaces creates a layer of interlinked activities with the potential to strategically connect to a larger scale. In fact, isolated interventions are not enough to restructure a neighbourhood.
- **building edges instead of fences** (Figure 98). To bridge divides, planning has to stop building elements of separation. It should build bridges instead of walls, edges instead of fences. This approach will provide *eyes on the streets* and passive surveillance⁴⁴⁹ through active frontages, but above all it will define more easily the public open space, clarifying the transition between public and private space. An innovative proposal would be to insert spatial norms – such as building at the edges of the parcel or norms to deal with informal settlement – within planning regulations. This approach might be extremely useful to incrementally improve public spaces indiscriminately all over the city. In this sense, each building could contribute in defining the street and other form of public space: the one could generate the other and they could sustain each other.
- **concentration of activities and uses** (Figure 99). The idea is to move from the concentration of poverty to the concentration of opportunities⁴⁵⁰ thanks to the people, considered as infrastructure (Simone 2004). Concentration is different from densification. It is not just about having more density, it is about defining a hierarchy⁴⁵¹ of activities and uses. The integration of formal and informal, mixed-used building with housing, trading and public facilities activate the public open space in different time of the day⁴⁵². In such a context, no one would be excluded, applying an inclusive and ordinary approach. Harare VPUU project showed that it is possible: the live-work units or public spaces used also for private initiatives can be considered a revolution in Khayelitsha context where just single-storey housing and fenced public building have been planned by the city until now.

⁴⁴⁹ As suggested by VPUU.

⁴⁵⁰ Dharavi is considered the largest slum of Asia. It occupies a small portion of Mumbai, but its density is incredible, almost inhumane (250,000 people/km²). Nevertheless, Dharavi is a contested area since it produces the 60% of the GDP of Mumbai. People had the ability to use the concentration of Dharavi to create powerful informal activities (Bodino and Colucci, 2011).

⁴⁵¹ Urban spaces have to be organized with hierarchies, equality is impossible and self-defeating in urban planning.

⁴⁵² The night street life is excluded because of crime issues in Khayelitsha. This problem can change over time and can be affected by other aspects that have not been taken into account in this research.

- **pedestrian human scale** (Figure 100). People are the focal point. Public open space has to serve people and provide a place where to experience the urban life. “Walking is first and foremost a type of transportation, a way to get around, but it also provides an informal and uncomplicated possibility for being present in the public environment” (Gehl 1991⁴⁵³). Pedestrian human scale includes three words and each of them has a specific meaning. Pay attention on *scale* means to take into account the proportion between buildings on the boundaries and the space around them. In fact, the proportion between the height of the edging elements and the width of the open space must be appropriate. Pay attention on *human* means to provide spaces which can be flexible for activities that can happen there, to provide shadows if the climate is hot and covered spaces if rain is frequent, to provide lights to allow use during the dark... Pay attention on *pedestrian* means to think on movements, on how people walk, rest or stay.
- **providing point of reference** (Figure 101). Contemporary cities can be alienating. People needs physical landmarks as points of reference to build their mental map (Lynch 1960). The more the landmarks are representative of the local community or of its aspiration, the more the space will be owned and accepted. Moreover, space may use many spatial tools to provide point of reference: crucial is to propose something that contrast with the existing. If the urban context is dense, also a void may become a landmark; if the urban context is characterized by sprawl, a building with a different scale will easily act as a beacon. Taking into account socio-economic aspects, specific functions and activities can also act as point of reference in the urban environment.
- **providing beauty and protection** (figure 102). A positive image and aesthetics of open public space reflects a positive image of community and spaces around it⁴⁵⁴. Lighting, landscaping, benches, porticoes⁴⁵⁵ are elements of public spaces which offer citizens protection from atmospheric agents (wind, sun, darkness, rain) or provide area for standing, sitting, linger or interact. In other words, these spatial elements offer people freedom and opportunities to use the public space in different ways. Beauty could mean very different thing to different people, but when beauty is translated with an attention to people and to their actual or future needs, it is not questionable.

Considering that the spatial features described are attempts to create inclusive and human-centred space; on the contrary, the lack of such spatial features can be considered as spatial dimensions to inequality.

⁴⁵³ Text extracted from the English edition (Gehl 1987, 135).

⁴⁵⁴ As opposed as the broken window theory (chapter 5.3.1)

⁴⁵⁵ Porticoes are one example of transitional zone between one space and the next, between a public square and a commercial activity or a house for example.



Fig. 97: Network of spaces, by M. Bodino, 2018⁴⁵⁶

⁴⁵⁶ Yellow spaces represent the layer of intervention: the system of public spaces sustained by the new buildings (in red). This network works at the neighbourhood scale, but it is also connected with other layers (train line, green areas...) which have the potential to strategically connect to a larger scale.



Fig. 98: Building edges instead of fences, by M. Bodino, 2018⁴⁵⁷

⁴⁵⁷ The diagram shows one side of the Harare Library (March 04, 2017). The library is built on its boundary (red dots). In fact, the relation between the building and the street is evident and defined. Openings on each façade provides a visual interaction between the inside and the outside. Moreover, the building is higher in correspondence of the two corners of the plot, acting as a landmark as well as making clear entrances. On the left side, a fence with barbed wire and a blind wall (in blue) shows an opposite approach: separation.

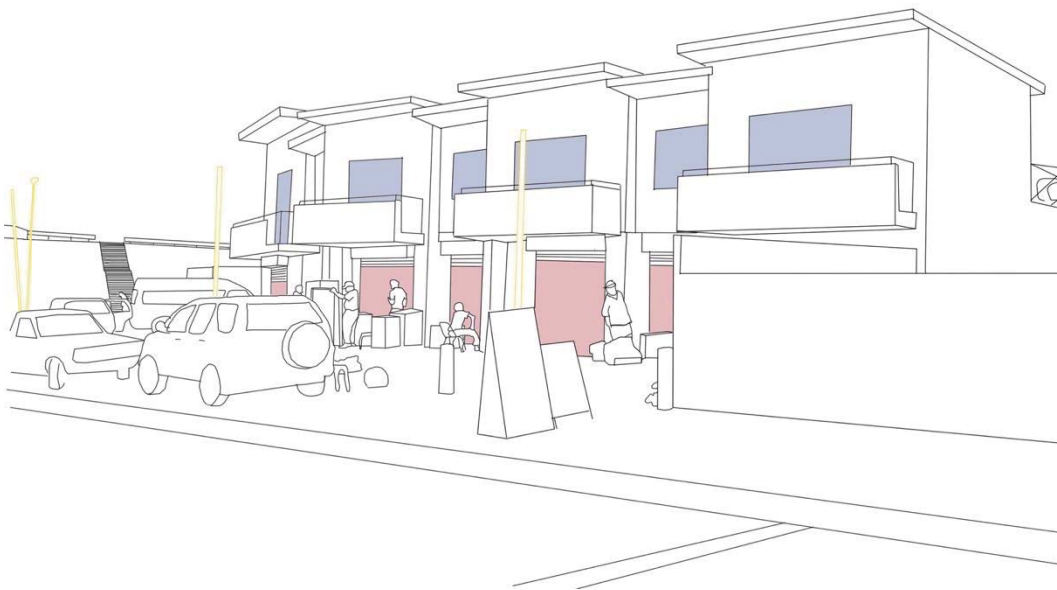


Fig. 99: Concentration of activities and uses, by M. Bodino, 2018⁴⁵⁸

⁴⁵⁸ The diagram shows the station live-work units (March 06, 2017). The buildings are set back to provide a space of interaction between interior and exterior. Various commercial or manufacturing activities are placed at the ground floor (in red), while residential accommodation is located on the first floor (in blue).

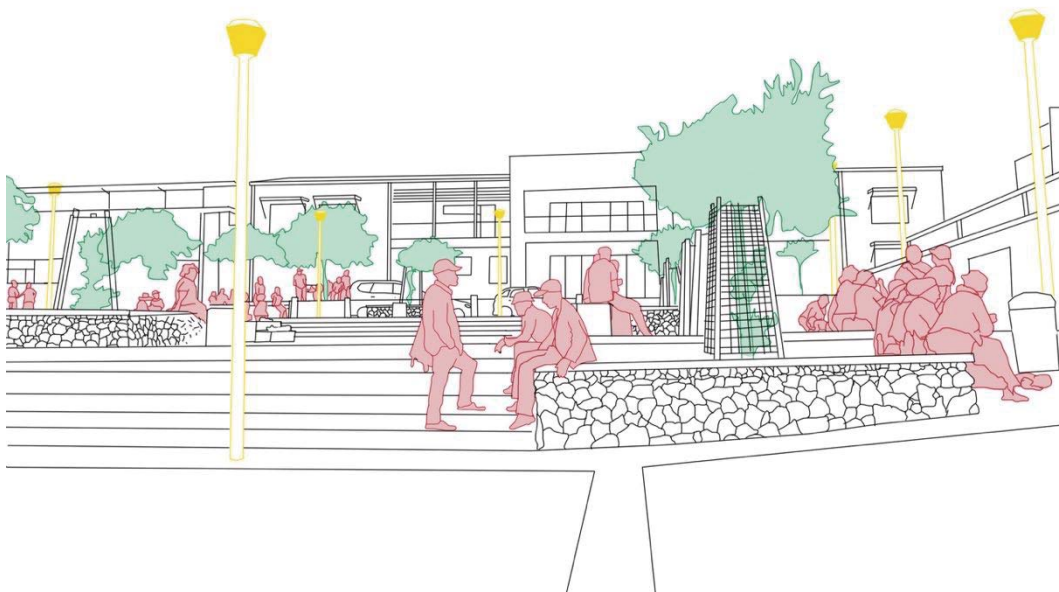
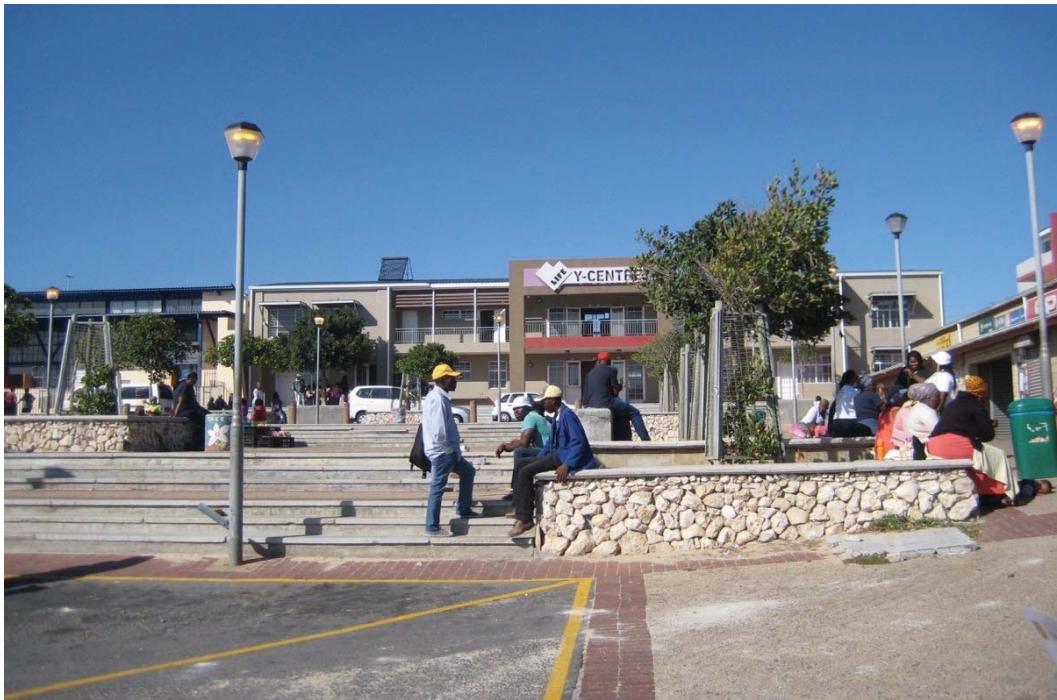


Fig. 100: Pedestrian human scale, by M. Bodino, 2018⁴⁵⁹

⁴⁵⁹ The diagram shows Harare square in an ordinary day (March 23, 2016). The slope of the square is used to create two different levels: one for cars and another one for pedestrians. The second one includes places for sitting which also serve as vases for plants (in green) that provides some shadow. Urban lighting is included to supply night visibility (in yellow). People (in red) can use this space to meet others, to sell goods, to walk, to stay, to rest, to access to building around the square...

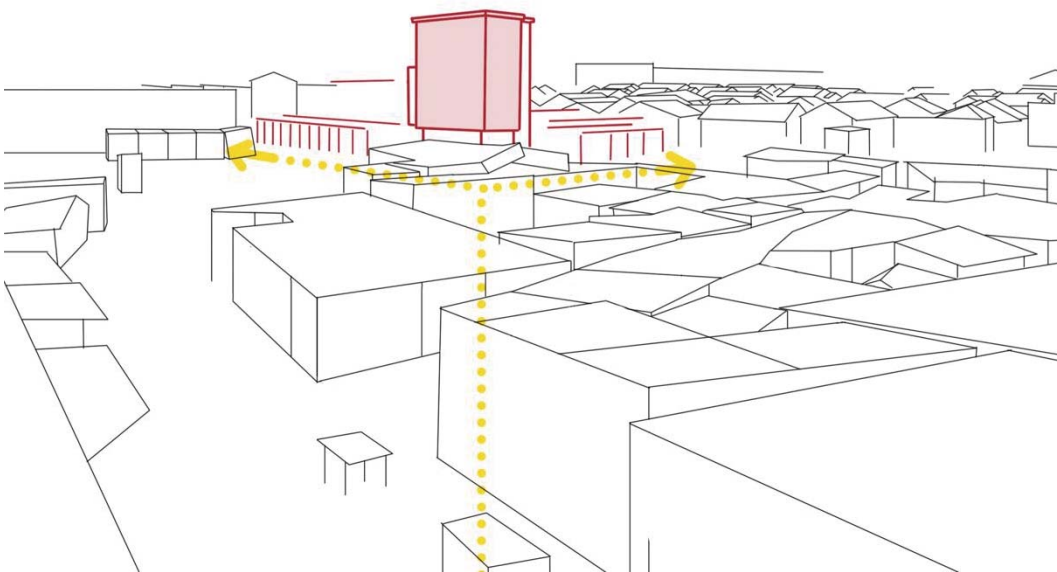


Fig. 101: Providing point of reference, by M. Bodino, 2018⁴⁶⁰

⁴⁶⁰ The diagram shows the active box (in red) viewed from Harare station (March 27, 2017). The height of the building makes it easily identifiable within the context of single-storey edifices. The advantage of having a visual reference point allows people to walk without getting lost in the informal part in front of the station. Once you get to the active box, the shape of the building itself provides two alternative directions to proceed.



Fig. 102: Providing beauty and protection, by M. Bodino, 2018⁴⁶¹

⁴⁶¹ The diagram shows the entrance of the Harare library (March 23, 2016). The photo has been chosen to represent beauty. In fact, people from Harare consider the library as the best building of VPUU intervention. Each and every person interviewed by the author during field work recognise positive features to the creation of the building. None of the users talked about spatial and architectural features, or materiality, but they were impressed by its beauty, its multifunctionality and they were proud of it. The entrance of the building is symbolic since its design invite people to enter creating a filter area which provides shadows, places to sit even when the library is closed.

Moreover, to generalize the current layout of public facilities in Khayelitsha (Figure 80) and thus understanding what can be learned from the attempts to desegregate Cape Town, two diagrams are proposed below (Figure 103 and Figure 104). These graphs synthesize the spatial proposal of creating a public space infrastructure which sustain and support the existing urban structure around it. It has to be noticed that the diagrams are useful to extract potential spatial changes, but they lack the information about socio-economic, cultural and environmental context which would need to be taken into account in a real application of a project. Figure 103 shows how public buildings (in black) are normally disposed within their quite large fenced plots. The relationship between the public facilities and the surrounding urban context is *delegated* to the fence itself. In fact, roads face the fence, not the building. It is quite difficult to understand from outside how the building is organized, where the entrance is, which is the function of the building itself because visually what is outside the fence is not spatially invited to relate with the inside. A single entrance is conceived for vehicles and then also for pedestrian. Even if the three public facilities are nearby, they do not relate: for example, entrances are in opposite sides, fences are not even shared... The diagram also shows a left-over open space (public in this case) which is surrounded by fences/ blind walls and roads, used by pedestrian to reach more easily the opposite side in the diagonal, the shorter route. In a South African context, a space with these features probably would be used for littering and gang activities, dangerous because unguarded and with dead spots.



Fig. 103: Diagram of existing public space structure, by M. Bodino, 2019

Figure 104 differs profoundly from Figure 103 even if just the public spaces is organized differently. The image shows provocatively how a neighbourhood can deeply change when the public space is designed to include rather than to separate. In fact, in the diagram the buildings are drawn on the edges of the plot with entrances on every side. In this case the role of the façades is fundamental because it is the façade itself and the pavement which relates and activate the *streets*, instead of *roads*⁴⁶². The three public facilities work as a system, they are not just closed to each other, but they organise themselves around a common space which support and strengthen their relationship. The left-over space became a public open space where all the three public facilities are facing to (each according to the specific function). The edges towards this space are permeable to allow and invite people to relate with public facilities. As a consequence, the core of the diagram is not the shape of the buildings but the possible use of the space by people, in particular by pedestrian (which is represented by the grey dots).

Through the comparison of this two diagrams, the author states that reframing the way public spaces (facilities and also open public spaces) are organized can trigger a more inclusive perception of urban spaces. Ordinary uses of those spaces and the transition of the existing private housing or existing commercial spaces in the surrounding may change (or not), but surely the quality and the perception of the proposed public infrastructure is more inclusive and open.

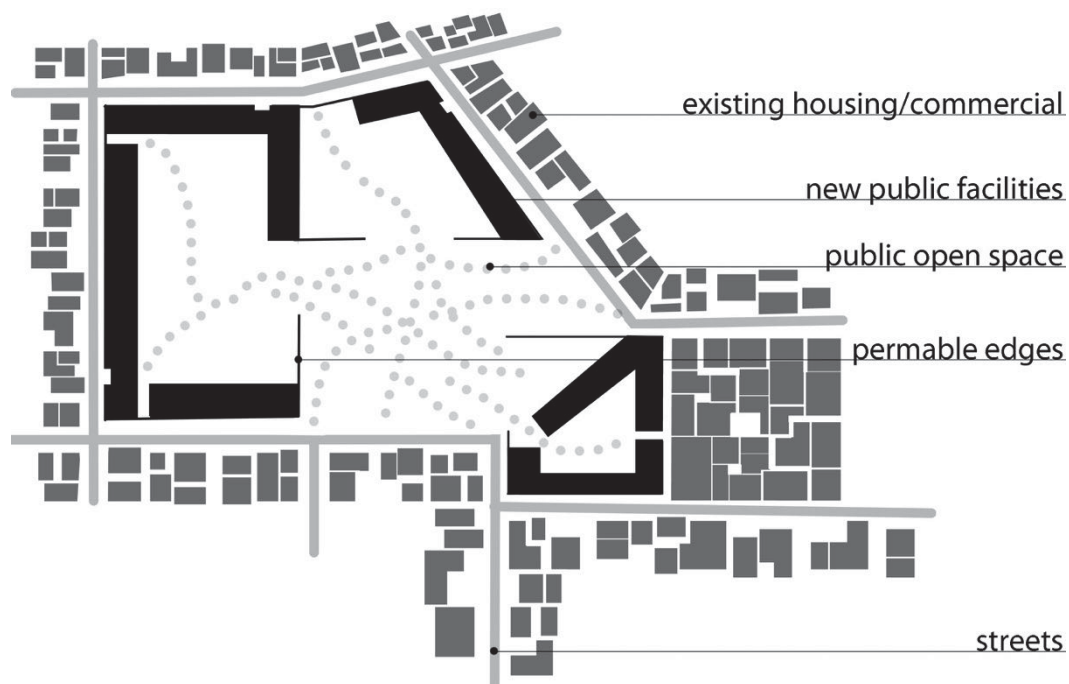


Fig. 104: Diagram of proposed public space infrastructure, by M. Bodino, 2019

⁴⁶² If we considered that roads are conceived as spaces for pedestrian before than spaces for cars, the roads would become streets.

Chapter 6

Conclusions

This final chapter is called the conclusions chapter even if much more research work⁴⁶³ remains to be done to find solutions to spatial inequality issues in contemporary cities like Cape Town. This chapter attempts to map the research achievements of the thesis and open up to possible future research. This thesis deals with the attempt to reframe the role and the spatial configuration of public space as an inclusive tool instead of a tool of separation⁴⁶⁴. In doing so, further implications are challenged. In fact, the research implicitly deals with the problems of the discipline of architecture when reframing the definition of public space⁴⁶⁵. And if the frame of reference of the discipline changes, then also the role of architects and urban designers should change accordingly. Therefore, this research places itself within the current urban planning crisis, which also depends on the stratification and complexity of the elements involved when we talk about space. Since the frames of reference are so wide and multidisciplinary, there will be no right or wrong solution, but there will be continuous search for alternatives ways to improve the contradictions of urban life. It may not be enough to design for different users or uses since those can change suddenly. A meticulous observation of the ordinary will be mandatory to extract from it new ways of living, experiencing, modelling the ever-changing conditions of urban experience.

⁴⁶³ And in many different disciplines also.

⁴⁶⁴ The author hopes to propose practical theory which can affect directly urban design. “Town planning exist to improve the world, not just to understand it. [...] Precisely because town planning is a practical discipline which directly affects the environment in which people live, it is all the more essential to develop practical theory to inform it” (Taylor 1998, 167-168).

⁴⁶⁵ For example, the public space in the colonial period was used for the use and consumption of the colonizers, and the access to the colonized was forbidden. Nowadays, the public space has to be accessible to everyone, but also its features – morphological, aesthetic, spatial – have less defined borders in order to be more flexible to the contemporary and future uses of the space.

6.1 Final notes and visions

In recent decades, there has been a growing interest in academic discourses on how to combat the urban fragmentation of South African cities. This is important because inequality (economic, social, spatial, cultural, and also ecological) is a huge challenge internationally⁴⁶⁶ and furthermore because the history of inequality in South Africa has ancient origins (Terreblanche 2002). This research has demonstrated that a step forward has been taken to combat inequality in terms of spatial interventions. In fact, since the 1990s a small but extremely significant amount of attention to public space has been increasing in Cape Town. In the next sections, there will be a summary of why and how this is so relevant. In fact, through the rereading of the argument of the thesis, the narrative of segregation could be interpreted as a lack of design of public space. Similarly, through the redefinition of public space, the narrative of inclusion could play an important role in contemporary urban contexts.

In defining the geographical and theoretical framework, the author uses the frame of reference of a Cape Town case study as an *ordinary worlding lived city*, which challenges dominant narratives. The historical denial of the essential aspects of public space – both in terms of theoretical reference and of spatial configuration – is overcome in academic discourses in South Africa by the concept of public space as the most important form of social infrastructure. The theoretical application of this concept was examined through the analysis of policies in the City of Cape Town (CoCT). The pursuit of spatial inclusion was analysed thanks to an analytical reading of policy documents and critical comparison of politics and policies during and after the apartheid period. The relationships between national and local policies (Figure 31) and the critical evaluation of those relationships demonstrates growing attention to the rhetoric of public space since the beginning of the 1990s. In fact, from the 1990s the desired spatial and socio-economic integration has been linked with the reconstruction of public spaces (Le Grange 1994; Landman 2010 among others). The vision for open, integrated and inclusive public spaces – sponsored in current urban policies – corresponds with the effort to build the *rainbow nation* (De Raedt 2012), also referred to as the antithesis of the apartheid city (Pieterse 2006) or integrated city. Here the assumption is that constructing the rainbow nation is possible through the promotion of public space. And public space is the spatial tool to contrast the narrative of separation. In fact, it is where “differences as well as [...] commonalities can emerge and become the subject of democratic debate” (Le

⁴⁶⁶ This increase of international attention depends on many factors, interests and needs: “the environment, the climate, the ecosystem, the cities themselves are asking human beings to change. [...] This is a global issue.” (Bodino 2017).

Grange 1994, 23). Therefore, it can help to bridge deep-seated divisions⁴⁶⁷, it can be considered a great leveller⁴⁶⁸ and a spatial tool to promote equality. Indeed, “by definition [public spaces] are accessible to all citizens, regardless of their income and personal circumstances. Public spaces are where people meet and interact; socialize and discover common passions; and where they affirm their shared rights to the city”⁴⁶⁹. This idea of creating a space equally accessible to everyone is already a great achievement in the new South Africa, where the principle of equality was rejected. In order to accomplish this goal, the process of creation of public space becomes crucial⁴⁷⁰ and this research demonstrates that this attempt has been promoted by policies and by some architectural practices. Furthermore, “great public space cannot be measured by its physical attributes alone”, as claimed in *Project of public spaces*⁴⁷¹. In other words, spatial aspects have to deal with social, cultural, economic and political aspects also, and they heavily influence each other. VPUU Harare project proves that it is not enough to design and build a public space to solve socio-economic issues of a neighbourhood.

However, the overall organization of physical space in South Africa has not change according to these theoretical achievements. On the contrary, since 1994 segregation has persisted despite the political rhetoric, and Cape Town is still considered one the most segregated city in the world. In fact, planning rules and the main focus of policies have not changed. As a result, the development and growth of cities in South African has been driven by factors which do not focus on inclusive planning. For example, the housing policy keeps looking at formal solutions without recognising the continuous growth of informal settlements. At the same time, land market, private development and a quasi neo-liberal economy⁴⁷² are de facto driving the transformation of South African cities. These are the rules of the urban growth game and it seems like there is no real political will to change those rules through an effective top-down planning approach. In

⁴⁶⁷ Bulelwa Makalima-Ngewana, actual CEO of Cape Town Partnership, wrote: “meeting each other in the country’s public spaces can help to bridge deep-seated divisions in South Africa’s society”. Her article *Using public space to bridge divides* has been written in January 13, 2016 and aimed to promote a democratic use of public space. Retrieved October 26, 2016, from <http://www.capetownpartnership.co.za/2016/01/using-public-space-to-bridge-divides/>

⁴⁶⁸ “Sharing public space is the great leveller, after all”. Quotation from <http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2015-12-14-sharing-public-spaces-is-the-best-way-to-bring-people-together/#.WEgvmzd8sTg>

⁴⁶⁹ Quotation from <http://www.saferspaces.org.za/understand/entry/public-spaces> (retrieved October 29, 2017).

⁴⁷⁰ Confirming this statement, Madanipour ends his book *Whose public space?* with these words: “democratic and inclusive processes that create public space as a common good appear to be the best way of ensuring a better physical environment with social and psychological significance for the citizens” (Madanipour 2010, 242).

⁴⁷¹ Quotation from http://www.pps.org/reference/what_is_placemaking/ (retrieved October 26, 2016).

⁴⁷² Neo-liberalism, which is associated with laissez-faire economic liberalism and free-market capitalism, tend to reinforce existing inequalities, reducing or relieving the role of the state.

fact, “many South African cities [still] experience a physical landscape that monumentalises separation over inclusion, in which public space fails to perform its democratic potential as a place of exchange, tolerance and healing” (Mammon *et al.* 2008, 3). Despite the intellectual and political relaunch of public space, the observation of contemporary Cape Town reveals a need for profound restructuring and a lack of quality public spaces especially in disadvantaged and marginal urban areas. A great disconnection between theory and reality of material space is evident reading this research work. Not by chance, the analysis of contemporary public space in South Africa is used by many authors to describe specific urban problems. Three main tendencies can be traced⁴⁷³:

- the distinction between public and private is not easy to be defined
- the culture of fear has a great impact in the use of public space
- public spaces are also affected by the increasing fragmentation of contemporary cities

Landman underlines that the growing role of privatization in creating a large number of enclosed neighbourhoods determined not only a new urban form, but also the “transformation of public spaces for all to *common* spaces for only a selected few” (Landman 2006, 3). Public capacity and capabilities seem to be too weak to provide effective solutions without engaging with the private sector. As a result, in poorer areas of the city the only spaces used with relative freedom are private malls, acting as a “new sociospatial forms” of public space (Houssay-Holzschuch and Teppo 2009, 358). Private shopping malls have become a common place to gather⁴⁷⁴, but not necessary to interact. Paasche “argues that in central Cape Town different public spaces exist in parallel to each other” and that “private forms of governance exclude groups and people labelled *undesirable* from these spaces and introduce their own ideas of order” (2012, 46-47). Another example is how community or private groups can organize themselves in monitoring and securing public streets in order to provide an added service to local residents, visitors and investors⁴⁷⁵. In such a context, distinction between public and private is not easy to trace. At the same time, the improved safety and security provided by those private interventions answer the endemic rising culture of fear. In South Africa, there is no freedom to walk around – at least not the freedom that we normally experience in almost every part of European cities. In

⁴⁷³ Part of the writing presented here and in the chapter 3.2.1 refers to the draft work in course of publication done thanks to the PhD course *Domesticating the megacity. Micro-macro observations in China and beyond* (Prof. Bonino, Frassoldati e De Pieri).

⁴⁷⁴ Especially for the middle class.

⁴⁷⁵ The author was living in Rosebank neighbourhood where a small group of people of the neighbourhood used to pay the surveillance service to monitor “their” streets. Maboneng Precinct in Johannesburg is another example of recent urban regeneration project which have coupled innovation in design, culture and art with great investments in street security (the area has 24-hours guards) to guarantee safer access and use.

Cape Town, freedom to walk is strictly connected and limited by lack of safety⁴⁷⁶ in the city centre as much as in marginal areas. For this reason, the complexity of accessing a public space or the fear of using it freely and safely affect strongly the use of it. Accordingly, it is not just about the physical segregation but it is also about the social segregation. The *Saferspace* initiative emphasises the “direct relation between safety and public space. [Their] goal is to enhance safety in public spaces as a way to reclaim public spaces and therefore resolve the impediments to people’s movement”⁴⁷⁷. As a consequence, in many projects control and security become central aspects of design. Even if the quality of public space and its ability to enhance inclusion over separation remains the central question of the thesis, in South Africa the security issue has to be taken into account. In fact, architectural choices are strongly affected by this theme. For example, it is easier to *close* a space of public use to improve access control. Very few new spaces are designed as *open* in terms of architectural composition and this approach is even more rare in poorer and more vulnerable areas: VPUU public open space is very innovative in this sense. In addition, it is also true that many cities around the world are experiencing growing urban fragmentation. South African cities are also affected by this phenomenon. Causes of fragmentation can be attributed to globalization and neo-liberalism, which “generate process of commodification, touristification, beautification, and privatization of public spaces” (Houssay-Holzschuch 2015, 5). In addition, the inherited structure of the apartheid city, deeply influenced by modernism, also played a role in fostering fragmentation through segregation. Furthermore, the growing digital transformation heavily influences social relations in contemporary cities⁴⁷⁸, even if it is rarely quoted in urban literature. In fact, new ways of communication and information through the digital revolution profoundly modifies social relations in South Africa. Cell phones in particular, but also internet and television affected the way of experiencing urban spaces. In South Africa, these innovative technologies are usually accessible to high and middle classes, but they are quickly spreading out. Globally, we need to recognize that the digital revolution is changing our social relations and hence our social spaces. Therefore, it is more complex to define what is a public or private space if the place of interaction does not strictly need a physical shape. For example, within many ethnic groups living in Cape Town the forms of oral communication are

⁴⁷⁶ Safety issues are linked to both perceived and real crime data. Updated data about the distribution of crime in Cape Town are available at the following link: <https://www.crimestatssa.com/toptenbyprovince.php?ShowProvince=Western%20Cape> (retrieved November 22, 2017).

⁴⁷⁷ Quotation from <http://www.saferspaces.org.za/understand/entry/public-spaces> (retrieved October 29, 2017).

⁴⁷⁸ The consequences of the digital phenomenon influence mobility, economic and social activities, exchange of data, etc. The common feature is that all the relations connected to these fields weaken their connection with space.

historically very strong and important for the community. The recent advent of technology dramatically contrasts with this oral tradition⁴⁷⁹.

The Harare VPUU project⁴⁸⁰ analysis demonstrates that the intervention of urban design worked like acupuncture, improving and providing quality public spaces in a portion of the city. The objective of analysing the Harare VPUU project is not to identify spatial principles as solutions, but it is to propose a set of critical spatial lenses through which to reframe the role of public space. In fact, inclusive spatial features have been identified in the project (see chapter 5.3.3.1 and Figure 105) and more could be extracted by rereading the analysis in this thesis or by changing the point of view. The spatial dimension of inequality can therefore be recognised where those inclusive spatial traits are missing. Figure 105 shows the contrast between inclusive features deducted from the VPUU case study and author's elaboration (on the left) and spatial features of separation which emerged from the analysis of the South African case study (on the right). Within those groups more features could be specified: for example, the relationship between private and public spaces could relate both to the design of edges and to the land use organized through zoning.

Inclusion - equity	Separation - inequality
network of spaces	isolated spaces
designing edges	fences, blind walls and barbed wire
concentration of activities and uses	segregated zoning
pedestrian human scale	priority to cars
point of reference	alienating environment
quality (beauty and protection)	quantity (e.g. housing)

Fig. 105: Inclusion vs separation features, by M. Bodino, 2019

In addition, what does not emerge clearly from the diagram is the combination of these aspects and their hierarchy both at the urban scale and at the neighbourhood scale. Indeed, public open spaces as well as public facilities work as primary elements of urban structure when they act as a system, as *a family*. In this case, public spaces are composed according to a hierarchy of elements, in which the street is the essential and most widespread form. This research – and the case study analysed – mainly engages with the neighbourhood scale and does not directly address the potential of great city-scaled public spaces, which however also play a crucial role as they represent the largest and most unique form in the public space hierarchy. In fact, a few large public spaces may act as key inclusive catalysts of the entire city⁴⁸¹. What is relevant is the need to not get

⁴⁷⁹ And it is not easy for the author, as an outsider, to understand the real impact of this phenomenon.

⁴⁸⁰ Chapter 5.3.3.

⁴⁸¹ In the case of Cape Town those large scale public spaces should be located strategically in the seams between races and classes and should operate as to involve transversely different

stuck in the rhetoric of public space, but instead to admit that the forms of interaction are more complex and complicated. On one hand, the influence of project like VPUU is limited since it has only affected the neighbourhood scale and it does not desegregate the whole city. On the other hand, even just one partially successful project triggers a change of mind-set; it shows the possibility of an alternative way of doing things, and represents an element of discontinuity which has generated a different point of view⁴⁸² (Figure 106). This shift of mind-set is an important cultural achievement. Even if it is small and partial, it represents a huge step forward in the process of restructuring the city. The change of perspective evoked by this research shows that today a different approach to the discipline of urban planning and architecture is required. In fact, this thesis implicitly criticises the current way of designing, the detachment between academic theory and the bureaucratic process of the profession. Firstly, education and also the profession should recognise the great responsibility of design as an attempt to trigger a cultural improvement. This research underlines that every project, even small ones, can and should contribute to the creation of more inclusive public open spaces⁴⁸³, through a conscious relation between the design of the intervention and its existing and potential context. This recognition may have deep implications within the global crisis in the discipline of urban planning.



Fig. 106: Change of perspective⁴⁸⁴

categories of people (for example a square hosting periodically music and cultural festivals or a market involving small local artist or producers and manufactures as well as tourist, traders...).

⁴⁸² A change of perspective has been introduced in academic discourses, gradually proposed by some public space policies, partially pushed by globalisation and physically implemented in Khayelitsha.

⁴⁸³ The shift is from the focus on land-use to the centrality of urban structure and space.

⁴⁸⁴ The photo has been taken by the author in Khayelitsha, Harare (April 03, 2017). The wall painting is on a blind façade of Isivivana Centre, a multi-purpose community centre which opened in October 2016. A group of artists have been involved in the decoration of the façade of the

On one hand, public space has the potential to be used as a tool to contrast the narrative of separation. On the other hand, the practice of building public spaces has to deal with contemporary urban issues. Hence, it is not possible to extract fixed solutions: each case has to be treated specifically. In South Africa, the greatest novelty is the quoted mind-set shift which recognizes the loss of public space and which fights to reclaim it back in urban spaces. Hopefully, this thesis will help – even slightly – to reframe the challenge of South African cities of realizing more effective public spaces within contemporary city. “If it is true that public spaces are the ultimate expression of democracy, then a lot more freedom for all, and therefore to enforce rules, needs to be infused into these spaces. [...] Instead of promoting exclusionary public spaces and therefore walling out cities within and around, a need for places for aggregating people will have to emerge if we want *democratic cities* to survive” (Grauer 2002, 20). This should be the scope of every public space all around the world: public spaces serve as the primarily form of social infrastructure.

What follows is the author’s interpretation of this change of perspective activated by the VPUU Harare project. This reflection specifies the importance of the space on the basis of what has been learnt through the thesis. The creation of quality public spaces represents an obvious improvement for neighbourhood like Harare in Khayelitsha – or marginal areas of other contemporary cities. In other words, the importance of these inclusive public spaces is evident for the local communities, who did not have these spatial rights until 1994. At the same time, the most interesting aspect of the VPUU project is that it has induced alternative possibilities for an area normally neglected. These new public spaces have had a positive impact on both internal and external visibility. The local poor finally feel somehow part of the Cape Town and some of the rich have started to re-evaluate the peripheral area. Inhabitants of Harare are proud of the VPUU spaces⁴⁸⁵: the quality of public spaces and buildings demonstrates to the local community that they deserve the same quality which was given to other neighbourhoods – much more wealthy ones. The approach of the CoCT in providing these spaces proves an interest in creating opportunities for these areas and partially activates trust in political action. At the same time, appreciation by others not living in Khayelitsha is not about recognizing the upgrading of a township, nor an embellishment of a space normally ignored. It is about provoking an excuse and an opportunity to

building and the communal hall and they have used this opportunity to pursue a new identity for the neighbourhood (<https://isivivanacentre.org.za/p/Introduction>).

⁴⁸⁵ For example, the Harare library is considered as beautiful as a library in the city centre. All the people interviewed in Harare were satisfied about the new spaces. Problems and complains exposed to the author referred to other aspects of the project (management and security issues, lack of work among others), not to spatial ones.

visit a neglected space⁴⁸⁶. Besides, the creation of positive public space in Khayelitsha has encouraged at least a new vision of a township – a positive one – which contrasts with ordinary bad news. Therefore, the modification of space has triggered a modification of mind-set, even if only slightly: it has created attempts at connectivity and self-esteem. In this sense, it can be considered as a kind of urban acupuncture⁴⁸⁷. The expectation of local inhabitants towards new interventions has somehow to be taken into account since it reflects the spatiality and rhetoric of public space in the city centre. The risk is to assume that people want to reproduce that rhetoric, while space should reproduce the system that generates that rhetoric.

On one hand, this thesis demonstrated that Harare VPUU project has had a very significant impact on the perception of space. On the other hand, the issue of segregation in wider terms has not been addressed. In fact, the investment of VPUU could be seen as a political decision aiming to “give a sop” to a huge group of voters which are rancorous because historical inequalities are growing instead of decreasing. The VPUU project has been expensive, but its price is insignificant compared to the investments necessary to balance the inherited inequalities and therefore restructuring the city. Moreover, even if spatial segregation features were removed or restructured, social and economic segregation would remain. Therefore, the project itself is positive, but the slogan used to sponsor it is misleading. In fact, the slogan – Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading – focuses on crime spatiality instead of potentials of public space. Projects like VPUU serve politicians and municipalities to take their time, to address only small issues which affect the perception of space and potentially start on their own a spontaneous process of economic and social growth. Nevertheless, fragmentation and inequality of urban context will not be resolved without concrete and precise policies and interventions designed to connect small scale urban acupuncture with the large-scale structure of the city, and without a reproduction of spatial interventions which involve socio-economic, cultural and also ecological aspects. Recently, ecological issues – in particular the drought of the last years⁴⁸⁸ – are forcing municipalities to work with an integrative approach.

⁴⁸⁶ It is also true that most of Capetonian never been to a township and fundamentally VPUU did not change this reality.

⁴⁸⁷ According to Lerner, when a project, a vision is applied and it enhance people self-esteem, it can be considered as an urban acupuncture: “it's precisely at the moment of execution that a people's self-esteem helps a city to move forward [...] To stimulate self-esteem is fundamental acupuncture” (Lerner 2014, 70).

⁴⁸⁸ “The Cape Town water crisis in South Africa began in 2015, resulting in a severe water shortage in the region. In early 2018, the dam levels were predicted to decline to critically low levels by April, the City announced plans for *Day Zero*, when the municipal water supply would largely be shut off if a particular lower limit of water storage was reached, potentially making Cape Town the first major city to run out of water.” (text retrieved from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cape_Town_water_crisis, November 20, 2018).

The urgency of some situation obliges to intervene with immediate effective proposals, which correspond very well to the timing of politics. Instead, the urban transformations take time, they involve a multitude of actors and issues and therefore require a broad and resilient proposal. As a result, these kinds of intervention do not give immediate results, nor do they match with political timing.

Additional consideration needs to be made in terms of technology and in terms of scale. In fact, technology and new ways of communication which are not directly related with space conventionally, could and should be involved in this process. Their flexibility may answer to the need for resilience and they can play a huge role in defining new rules for public spaces. Moreover, the scale of acupuncture intervention needs to be studied. The formal Harare VPUU project is interesting, but what it is even more interesting is to understand what small spontaneous changes took place thanks to or after the VPUU project. The public open space of VPUU probably did not revolutionise the way people experience the open space: people still do not use it during the dark and crime prevents people from freely experiencing the outside as happens in many other cities around the world⁴⁸⁹. But the public open space of VPUU is where people go to reach a commercial activity, a small shop or a friend working in one of these. Therefore, as a consequence, that public space in front of the private activity (built on the edge of the plot) becomes a meeting point.

A lot of time and resources have been spent on the realization of quite a small project⁴⁹⁰ and some of those resources could have been used differently. But it is also true that it would be much easier to intervene in an already well-structured area for different reasons. Firstly, the context of a completely formal and wealthy area does not require an effort in terms of approach. In this case, the standard formal bureaucratic process is applied⁴⁹¹. Secondly, in a township area, much more commitment is necessary to implement a project because it involves different levels of rights and interest (implicit and explicit, formal and informal...). When the objective is to improve and provide helpful spaces for poor and excluded communities, cooperation and mediation with them through a participatory approach is required. And a context-based approach reveals how many community interests may be affected in a disadvantaged area, where people are also much more vulnerable. It is also true that there does not yet exist a simple and linear approach capable of accommodating informality in the formal system

⁴⁸⁹ For example, in European cities or in North American ones.

⁴⁹⁰ According to Krause the Harare VPUU projects cost approximately 200 million rands (interview 2017).

⁴⁹¹ For example, the land can be private or public, the owner proposes a plan, obtains the needed permit and subcontract its implementation. Management and maintenance are sponsored by the owner. Security in these areas is higher, or privately provided by inhabitants around the intervention.

in which most of the cities are mapped. It might be useful to suggest a comparison between the concept of *equality* and *equity* to understand this concept. Figure 107 has become the graphic symbol to explain the concept of *equal opportunities* (equality) versus *equality of outcomes* (equity). In other words, equality means to give people the same things while equity represents fairness in every situation. It is a matter of defining if it is more important to give everyone the same opportunity or focusing on equal outcomes. Then, equality would mean to provide the same amount and type of public spaces in every part of the city, while equity means to provide *better* public spaces in the more disadvantaged neighborhoods. Equality would assume that the required efforts to implement and manage public spaces in different areas would be the same. Practice suggests that it is not true. This thesis assumes that equity is the major goal to be achieved and underlines that there is a huge need to re-define the rules of the game. In fact, the comparison between equality and equity is another example of reframing a problem, changing the paradigm through which the problem itself is framed.

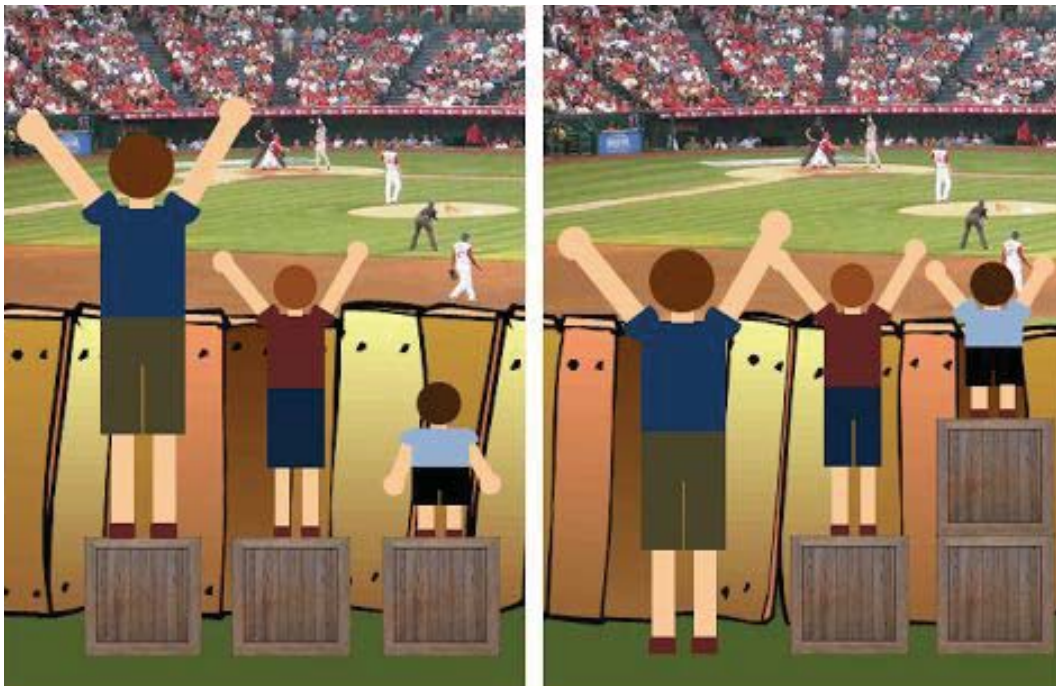


Fig. 107: Equality versus equity, by C. Froehle, 2012⁴⁹²

This chapter proposes possible visions and open questions for further application. What is clear from the findings of the research is that a change of perspective must be sponsored as a top-down process to be effective in terms of restructuring the city. The City of Cape Town should guide the restructuring of Cape Town for three reasons. Firstly, only the CoCT can demonstrate the real will

⁴⁹² Image created by Craig Froehle in December 20, 2012 and posted in Google + (<https://plus.google.com/+CraigFroehle/posts/AdKcNKesXwa>). Then, it has been reproduced and adapted in many different contexts (<https://medium.com/@CRAIG/the-evolution-of-an-accidental-meme-ddc4e139e0e4>, retrieved May 16, 2017.).

to change the status quo. Without the will to change much more time is needed and only a revolution from below can cause it⁴⁹³. Secondly, when strong, fair and transparent institutions are able to answer to inhabitants needs, an improvement in quality of life results. Therefore, political party changes should not influence this goal. And a number of external NPCs and NGOs could guarantee support and mediation with local communities in order to achieve the commitment. Thirdly, urban scale interventions are controlled and pursued by a municipality⁴⁹⁴. Some of them have the potential to improve accessibility and sew separate urban parcels thanks to the impact of their larger scale or thanks to their diffusion. In other words, they may “guarantee [better] porosity, permeability and accessibility⁴⁹⁵,” (Secchi 2013). Some current projects in Cape Town may untangle the actual structure of the city: among others, the new public transportation line called Lansdowne-Wetton Corridor⁴⁹⁶, the green corridor called Two Rivers Urban Park⁴⁹⁷, and the Voortrekker Road Corridor⁴⁹⁸ which can be developed as a linear commercial public space. These are important examples because they demonstrate that public space relates not only to spatial aspects because it involves complex socio-economic, politic, cultural and ecological aspects.

In order to generalize what has been learn by researching the case study of Cape Town, the author selected some spatial aspects at urban scale which synthetize how urban challenges can be translated into opportunities. In fact, the diagrams (Figures 108, 109, 110 and 111) show simple but precise aspects which are evident in the study of the extreme case of Cape Town⁴⁹⁹, but which reflect similarities with other ordinary contexts.

⁴⁹³ A restructure of the city is anyway necessary since tensions and disparities are widening and the collapse of the system is probable if the situation is maintained in this direction.

⁴⁹⁴ Especially in this case, the private interest should be put aside.

⁴⁹⁵ Secchi proposes a vision for future cities which includes “l’adozione di politiche che non si affidino a grandi opere e spettacolari, ma che intervengano in modo diffuso per garantire porosità, permeabilità ed accessibilità alla natura e alle persone: a tutti, indistintamente, che cambino la città come l’hanno cambiata altre grandi crisi” (Secchi 2013, 78)

⁴⁹⁶ The innovation of public transportation proposed consists of a new bus route along the so-called Lansdowne-Wetton Corridor connecting the Cape Flats with the southern suburbs of Claremont/ Wynberg. The main challenge of this project is to coordinate the design in an integrated and interdisciplinary way, using it as an opportunity for those vulnerable areas. For more information see the pamphlet about the BRT project. Retrieved April 12, 2017:

<https://myciti.org.za/docs/2465/Lansdowne-Wetton%20Corridor%20Pamphlet%20English.pdf>.

⁴⁹⁷ The project is conceived to promote connectivity and ecology. The area comprises a vast greenfield space, where Liesbeek and Elsieskraal Rivers meet the Black River. Currently, it is buffer zone, a border crossed by major traffic routes. The objective of the project would be use the area as a bridge to restructure disconnected neighbourhood around it (INTI 2016, 56-85).

⁴⁹⁸ This corridor is one of the two axes of historic development. In the last years, the area is considered relevant in terms of potential to change the spatial form of Cape Town, though the implementation of the densification policy: <http://futurecapetown.com/2016/06/voortrekker-road-corridor-holds-the-key-for-cape-towns-future-growth-future-cape-town/#.WtcusmVWejs>.

⁴⁹⁹ Cape Town represents an extreme case study to learn from, where some spatial aspects of separation are more evident. Some peculiar aspects of Cape Town have not been taken into consideration: separation of township is not represented directly, but the use of natural (or

The dispersion of connections pushed by the use of private motor vehicles should be replaced by a more effective organization, which can count on public or shared transportation (Figure 108). This shift would have environmental benefit as well as it can reinforce the urban hierarchy that should be organized according to equity. In fact, an unbalanced hierarchy would tend to increase inequalities in the distribution of resources and related benefits. At the same time, a hierarchy would exist, but with the creation of systems on different levels, systems that support each other. Public open space networks and inter-linked boulevards would be designed according to these levels of systems: great city-scaled public spaces and major infrastructure⁵⁰⁰ would be supported by a network of neighbourhood parks, streets, squares where ordinary life and daily socio-economic activities can occur (Figure 109). Landscape should be used as an opportunity to create inclusion rather than as a tool to reiterate separation (Figure 110): water and green corridors are always precious resources for cities and should be use in a sustainable and integrative way. They can provide economic opportunities, such as tourism and food cultivation. Design which takes into account the climate and landscape specificities of one place give resilient results and recognises the responsibility of the space transformation. If we overlap the different possibilities described above two situations may occur: chaos and fragmentation or complexity (Figure 111). Designing responsibly aims to achieve complexity, where different aspects inform each other, improving the quality of their superposition.

artificial) infrastructure as a means of separation or as an opportunity for inclusion include implicitly this aspect.

⁵⁰⁰ As described in the beginning of this chapter.

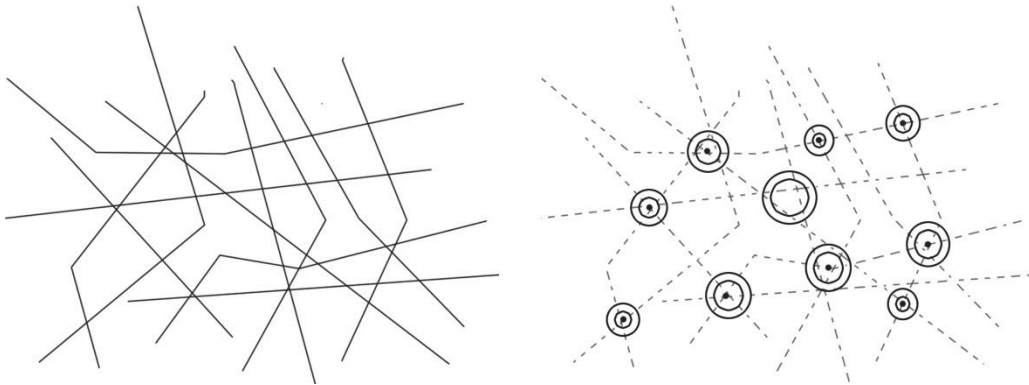


Fig. 108: Dispersion vs effective organization, by M. Bodino, 2018

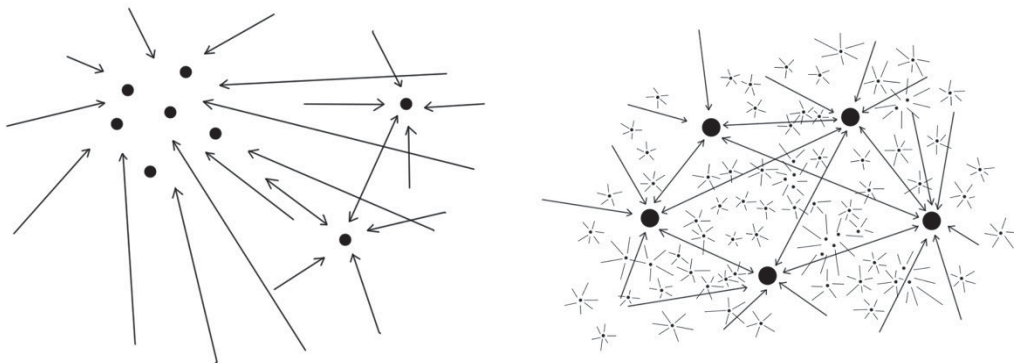


Fig. 109: Unbalance hierarchy vs equity, by M. Bodino, 2018

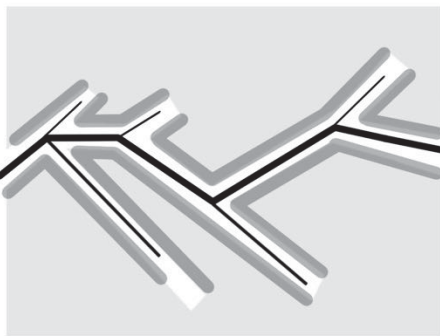


Fig. 110: Landscape as separation or as opportunity, by M. Bodino, 2018

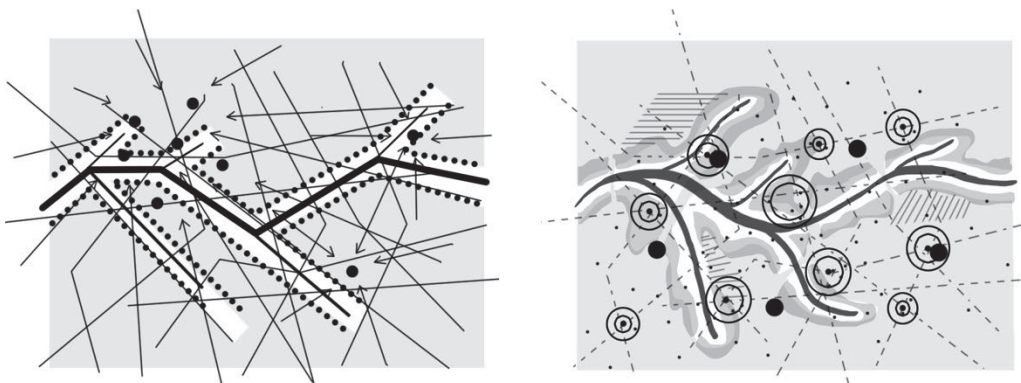


Fig. 111: Chaos and fragmentation vs complexity, by M. Bodino, 2018

Spatial modifications are fundamental in demonstrating the will to restructure the city and public elements of the city are the ones providing the long-term structure – like the one described in the diagrams above. That is the reason why public space is considered the skeleton of urban organisation. It is especially significant that public space modifications such as those of VPUU have the potential to trigger mind-set change in the urban suburbs of Cape Town. If those spatial modification are associated with alternative ways of using public space, the result could be even more powerful. It is possible to clarify this concept with one example. The initiative called *Open Streets Cape Town* is a citizen-driven initiative which works “to change how to use, perceive and experience streets”⁵⁰¹. Theoretically, it refers to the tactical urbanism approach⁵⁰². The *Open Streets* not-for-profit organization started with a reflection about the lack of space for cycling and then it embraced the idea that “streets could be much more than they are... By embracing the concept of Open Streets, we can all create shared spaces that embody respect, and help bridge the social and spatial divides of our city”⁵⁰³. Alternative and innovative visions of streets are encouraged by temporary events, as an excuse or invitation to people to use streets as a public space. The first event took place in May 2013 in the middle-class neighbourhood of Observatory, followed by others in different parts of the city. The focus of the initiative started by the idea that “moving in the city differently (taking automobiles out of the streets) is very powerful, but most importantly getting people together is really powerful” (interview with Guerrero 2016). Taking part in this event can change the perception of that space, even if it does not change the physical space itself. The example is about a temporary and organized event, not a spontaneous use of space. However, it demonstrates that even an anonymous street defined by blind walls and barbed wire in a marginal area of the city (Figure 112) can become an inclusive space – a public space, even if temporarily (Figure 113). The director of the event defines the *Open Streets event* as “a drop in the ocean” in terms of changing the city, admitting the limits of their flagship events. But the activation of a street in a temporary event brings people from all around the city (Figure 114) – in some cases for the first time – in marginal areas with the attempt to experience and perceive the space in a different way, forgetting prejudices for once. The spatial problem of these areas remains after the event as much as

⁵⁰¹ <https://openstreets.org.za/about-open-streets-cape-town>. More information has been collected thanks to an Interview with Marcela Guerrero Casas, managing director and Co-founder of Open Streets Cape Town (March 03, 2016), thanks to the participation on the Mitchell’s Plain event and to *Taking streets* events on Longmarket streets (April 2017).

⁵⁰² Chapter 3.2.4.

⁵⁰³ <https://openstreets.org.za/about-us/open-streets-cape-town-manifesto>. Retrieved April 16, 2018.



Fig. 112: The Eisleben Road⁵⁰⁴



Fig. 113: Alternative uses of spaces: *Open Streets* event⁵⁰⁵

⁵⁰⁴ Eisleben Road between Wespoort Drive and Spine Road was the area selected for *Mitchells Plain Open Street* event in 2017. The area has been visited by the author the Open Street organizer on February 23, 2017 to meet local community and organize with them the event.

⁵⁰⁵ *Open Streets Mitchells Plain 2017*. <https://openstreets.org.za/events/open-streets-mitchells-plain-2017>. Photo by M. Bodino (April 2, 2017).

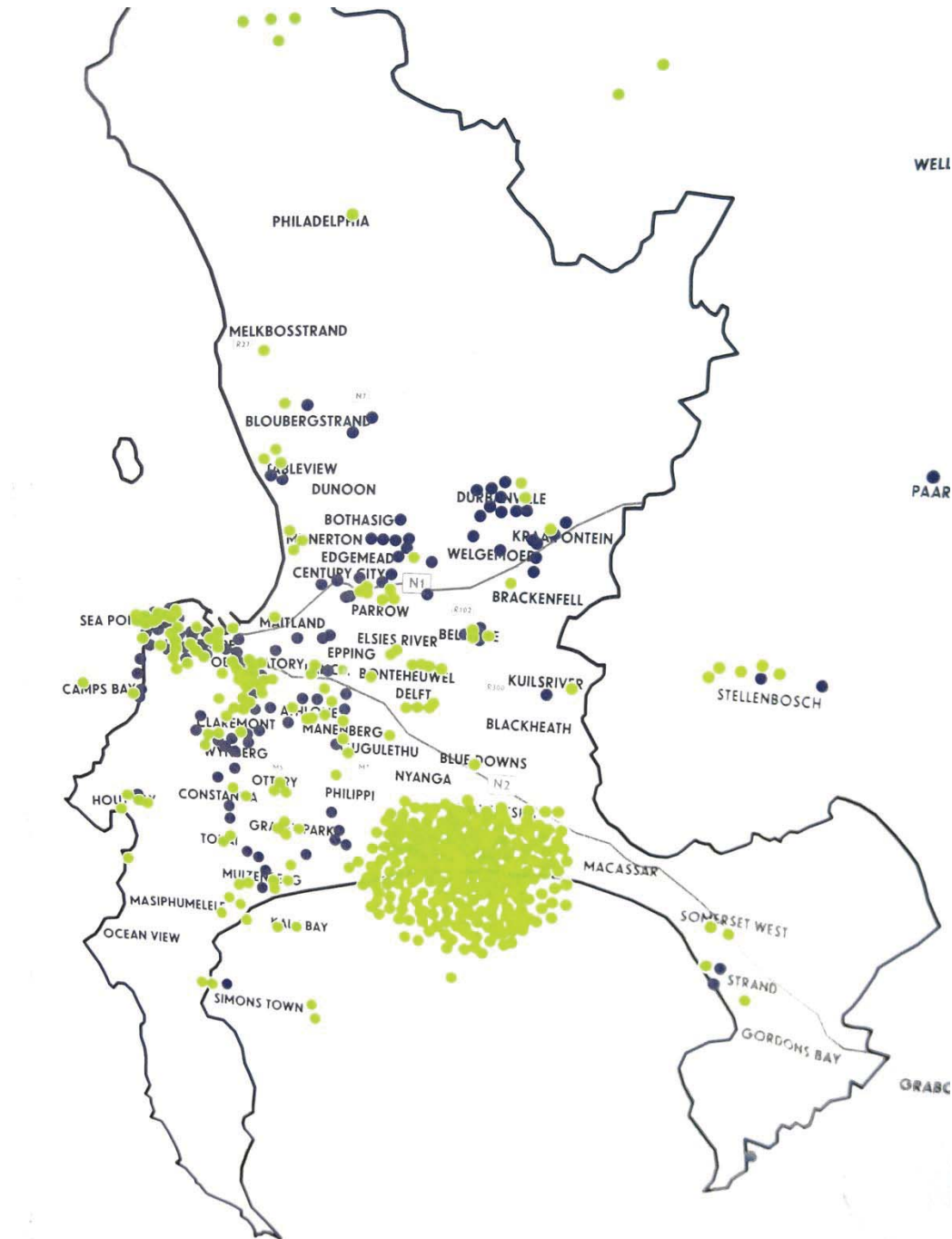


Fig. 114: Origin of participants in an *Open Street* event, 2017⁵⁰⁶

⁵⁰⁶ This diagram, created by a local radio station participating the event, is a simple map of Cape Town on which participants to the *Open Streets* event have marked where they come from. The map has been photographed and adjust by the author. The event was taking place in Mitchell's Plain (where most of the yellow dots are). Most of the people were joining the event coming from the Cape Flats, but a relevant number came from other neighborhoods.

economic, social and crime problems⁵⁰⁷. But for once the place can be seen as ordinary, and its residents can feel like inhabitants of Cape Town. This is a huge achievement considering Cape Town's urban structure: it challenges the dominant narrative of separation through the modification in the use of space. Moreover, these events simply demonstrate the need of urban inhabitants for public spaces: it is a necessity that must be considered in the management of a city.

The improvement of neglected areas of contemporary cities and the upgrading of informal settlements is not a new challenge. It has been experimented in many parts of the world, especially in South America⁵⁰⁸. Central to this literature has been the design and improvements of "infrastructure, service, amenities and open space – all essential components of successful urban environments" which cannot be built by settlement dwellers on their own (Gouverneur and Grauer 2008, 26). In South Africa, the implementation of these ideas is quite new and the collection of documents organized in this thesis aim to provide a description and a critical evaluation of this process. For this reason, the attempt to change perspective⁵⁰⁹ through the creation of public space as urban infrastructure is investigated in this research. Cape Town represents quite an extreme case study to learn from, in which the narrative of separation often coincides with reality, and the spatial aspects of separation are more evident. Therefore, the current desegregation process of the city reveals simple spatial principles which can be generalized in the South African context and beyond.

The attempt of the author was to look at the spaces of the city going beyond their bad reputation, and searching for the political and economic structures which have generated them (Wacquant 2016⁵¹⁰). The narrative of separation and its spatial implementation has been generated by local politics and policies. This thesis observed that a narrative of inclusion is beginning to appear in contemporary South Africa. Its implementation is still modest in scale and quite recent, but encouraging. In fact, space materialises cultural, economic, social and political aspects of urban life and so it can be considered an antidote to the growing spatial polarization.

The author firmly believes – and partially this research demonstrates it – that South African policies and practices should concentrate on the provision of public

⁵⁰⁷ Mitchell's Plain still remains one of the most dangerous areas of Cape Town.

⁵⁰⁸ In 2008, the Harvard Design Magazine attempt to answer to the following question: "Can designers improve life in non-formal cities"? bringing various examples of from Latin America.

⁵⁰⁹ The need of a change of perspective reminds the theme of the Biennale di Venezia 2106 edited by Alessandro Aravena: <http://www.labiennale.org/en/architecture/2016/intervento-di-alejandro-aravena>. Retrieved June 9, 2017.

⁵¹⁰ "[...] quartieri selvaggi della città, da temere e da cui fuggire o tenersi alla larga, perché sono focolai di violenza, vizio e dissoluzione sociale - o almeno tale è la loro reputazione, ma in queste cose la percezione contribuisce grandemente a fabbricare la realtà" (Wacquant 2016, 28-29). "Le strutture statali e le politiche svolgono un ruolo decisivo nella differente articolazione delle disuguaglianze di classe, luogo e origine" (Wacquant 2016, 34).

open space as the infrastructure of new forms of urban spaces. Those public spaces, if conceived as inclusive, could be the place in which to experiment freedom and opportunity, to encounter and exchange with others therefore contrasting the growing polarization and fragmentation of contemporary cities. If the focus is on the open space, much more freedom is given also to the forms of urban places around it, accommodating innovative forms of living, working and experiencing the urban spaces, without many categorizations.

Acemoglu and Robinson remind us that South African cities are just one example of spatial inequality since “we live in an unequal world. [...] The great differences in world inequality are evident to everyone” even if there is a subjective perception and a reality of these differences (2012, 40-41). Two concepts need to be taken into account. On one hand, the structure of a city takes decades to be shaped and even more decades to be modified: it is a long-term process and it depends on institutions – economic and political – which affects space (Acemoglu and Robinson 2012). On the other hand, perception has to do with people and with the real implications for people. Changing the perception and mind-set can help to enhance institutions, trust in them and may have results in shorter times. Younger generations, through a different perception of spaces and through a more inclusive education, could produce a new vision for our cities.

We always need to remember that public space is not a panacea for spatial inequality, but it is an important ingredient for a liveable city. There is no sense in using only that ingredient without taking into account the complexity and peculiarity of the context. The creation of a network of these public spaces, at different scales, is therefore not enough to desegregate a city, to provide accessibility, to make it more democratic. Many other aspects need to be taken into account. At the same time, the creation of neighbourhood-scaled sets of public spaces can at least trigger a change in the perception of space: from a narrative of separation towards a narrative of inclusion.

Moreover, the role of historical memory cannot be underestimated. Urban spaces can be defined as open-air books, with many and different layers composing them. Those stratifications are sometimes hard to understand or not evident to an inexperienced interpretation. Precisely for these reasons, museums, schools and spaces or events dedicated to the educational understanding of the changes of the territory are precious. They act as connectors between the past, the present and the future. In Cape Town, those spaces are essential to critically learn the past, becoming therefore able to understand and face the present in a more conscious way. Among others, the *District Six Museum*⁵¹¹ (Mceachern 1998;

⁵¹¹ <http://www.districtsix.co.za>. The museum is an example of a community museum. The author has the privilege to interview Joe Schaffers, a resident of District Six and one of the volunteer working at the museum. The museum does an inspiring work of education and memory, involving students, tourists and whoever is interested in remembering history and in building the

Bennet *et al.* 2008) the *Lwandle Migrant Labour Museum*⁵¹² (Murray 2014) and the *Slave Lodge Museum* play an important role in transmitting the historical memory of the city. In this thesis, the contents of these museums are not treated specifically, but the urban history of Cape Town has been investigated to understand the origin of some contemporary urban challenges.

The experience of writing this thesis was an extraordinary⁵¹³ opportunity for the author to get in contact with urban spaces far from her own experience⁵¹⁴. Hopefully the result of this research could contribute – if only slightly – to propose an alternative interpretation for Cape Town’s urban transformation. At the same time, the research activity certainly provided alternative points of view to be applied to Italian or European cities, which are far from being perfect models. The achievement of this research may be considered limited, but may contribute more in general to open an unusual approach to examine contemporary fragmented cities, reading and interpreting urban process in different manners⁵¹⁵ (Ceccarelli 2015). Complexities and flexibilities of contemporary cities require an open-minded approach, which potentially is inspired by experiences like this one. Not by chance, there has been growing attention in the last 25 years on the so-called South of the World: maybe we are simply interested in learning from other urban contexts and finding answers for *our* urban issues more than providing solutions for *others*. Confronting the crisis of urban development globally could provide hints for alternative city futures (Pieterse 2008), but also could highlight the lack of alternatives and proper tools of investigation.

rainbow nation. But that “it is going to be a long process, not an overnight thing. It will take years and years to undo the damage that was done. [...] A change of mindset is needed, people have been forced to live without connecting with other races for decades. A new approach is possible just if we will look each other as culturally different, understanding that we can learn from our differences”. Interview with Joe Schaffers (February 24, 2016).

⁵¹² <http://lwandle.com>.

⁵¹³ And sometimes also frustrating.

⁵¹⁴ Different from Italy, but also different from Spain, USA, India, Morocco, Brazil and Switzerland where the author had the privilege to study, work or research.

⁵¹⁵ Ceccarelli reflects on the city of the twelfth century. “Visto che affrontare la realtà urbana contemporanea con i nostri consolidati modelli non produce esiti significativi c’è da chiedersi se non dovremmo cercare di esaminarla *the other way around*, riflettendo più spesso e più a lungo sul fatto che capovolgere i punti di vista, battere strade non praticate, immaginare futuri inconsueti, può forse insegnarci più di quanto non pensiamo” (Ceccarelli 2015, 66).

6.2 Research challenges and future research

The research challenges of this study are briefly noted in this chapter, as well as future research opportunities. Awareness of the research challenges allowed the author to adjust the chosen methodology and to counterbalance inevitable problems with innovative approaches or alternative perspectives. At the same time, this consciousness can highlight possibilities for further application of the findings.

On one hand, the Italian background and education of the author can be considered as a limit for the research. On the other hand, the methodology used and the time spent on site with an open and curious mind could provide an alternative point of view. It is about looking at local problems with different lenses. Therefore, the hope is that through comparison of ideas, new solutions and opportunities can be born. This thesis has been written in English by the Italian author, but has been partially revised by an English professor. The process of review of many parts of the research by an external person should guarantee the clarity of basic concepts.

It is also recognized that it was not possible to have a South African co-tutor, which would have provided an important internal perspective. However, the substantial list⁵¹⁶ of key stakeholders interviewed (researchers, professors, architects and practitioners, local administrators and City of Cape Town workers, local NGOs, CBOs, NPCs, public space users...) renders the research reasonably robust, as underlined in chapter 1.4. In fact, the group of people interviewed and observed is extremely heterogeneous thus ensuring a periodic check of research assumptions. The interviews were a way to deal with local problems, to understand if the research questions were reasonable and to confirm or overturn possible implications of the research. Living in Cape Town for five months was a challenging and interesting experience to directly use and experience local public spaces. We can call this process a “learning by listening and observing” process, with the aim to really understand what local people want and desire. Ordinary urban spaces are observed, taking into account their diversity and complexity, as much as possible. Many different answers are possible to urban issues. The elaboration of the data collected has been interpreted by the author who admits the possibilities of variation if more or different people were interviewed. The attempt of the author was to interpret the collection of data found directly on site or indirectly through research. A possible limitation of this dissertation could have been to misunderstand some of the material found because of lack of time or of

⁵¹⁶ The number of key stakeholders interviewed is about 100 including around 55 people or organizations involved directly in the Harare VPUU project (this group of people has been mainly interviewed on site).

lack of in-depth analysis of some of it. However, reference to any data consulted has been reported to allow future confirmation or falsification of results.

The last period of field work spent in Cape Town by the author was in 2017⁵¹⁷, while the final version of the thesis was completed in the beginning of 2019. Therefore, when the author refers to contemporary Cape Town she refers to the situation until 2017, the one directly known by the author.

The research chose Cape Town as a case study, a specific and quite an extreme case in terms of spatial segregation. The findings of the thesis refer specifically to the contemporary urban situation of Cape Town. They tried to interpret a specific time and place. Nevertheless, the research and the methodology applied may provide a conceptual framework for future research on spatial inequality in South African and beyond.

Possibilities for further investigations are outlined in the next sections.

Apartheid has affected not only spatial aspects of society, but it has also had great influence on social, political, cultural and economic aspects. The findings of this research mainly focus on space, in particular public open spaces, even if the literature review includes aspects of interrelated disciplines. The author did not have to opportunity to intertwine the research specifically with other disciplines. Further debate and exchange with other branches of knowledge may enrich and integrate the research results achieved, providing a more interdisciplinary analysis of the current urban context of Cape Town.

The policies critically reviewed analysed the approaches of the CoCT over 25 years, while the analysis of architectural and urban design practices focused on one single case study: the VPUU project in Harare. There are two reasons for this choice. Not many public spaces act as inclusive spaces in Cape Town's critical areas⁵¹⁸ and Harare is a quite recent but completed project. Moreover, it is not just a small intervention, but it is a network of spaces, connecting different parts at the neighbourhood level. This feature makes the case study more complex and also more complete, since it provides hints for different fields of analysis. In addition, the historic review of policies about public spaces reveals that VPUU programme would not have been possible without the premises of the Dignified Place Programme and the Quality Public Space programme. At the same time, the fragmented and small-scale interventions of DPP and QPS has already been reviewed by local professionals hence providing an important starting point for a comparison⁵¹⁹.

⁵¹⁷ From 30th January to 29th April 2017.

⁵¹⁸ In the city centre, most of the public spaces are the one planned and design in the colonial period which still structure the city. Few new public spaces have been created with the city bowl, but they are normally small and within a much more structured urban area. Therefore, they would not be relevant to underline the narrative of separation and the opposed narrative of inclusion.

⁵¹⁹ In fact, the limitations of DPP and QPS (in terms of scale, location and politic relation) have been in a way replicated in the VPUU programme.

The area of analysis, Harare, is a mix of formal and informal. It has a formal infrastructure which has been changed informally by inhabitants. The thesis demonstrates the importance of designing the *voids*, the *empty space*, the public open space, going beyond its rhetoric and retracing its meaning. Since the case study has to do both with formal and informal organization of space, the same approach used in the thesis can also be utilised to examine other formal or informal spaces (keeping in mind the possible consequences of labelling). Architects should return to design empty space since it may accommodate new and different forms of urbanity around it. The borders of these voids define, activate and shape the open public space. At the same time, architects and planners should be very conscious that the physical dimension of space can be marginal compared to the complexities of urban issues. Future research could observe other existing public spaces of Cape Town with these lenses and compare them, understanding how and if the vision of a more inclusive city is about to happen. What would happen if the infrastructure department of Cape Town defines *roads* as *streets*, acting in an interdisciplinary manner and bringing people back to the centre of their projects? What if the spatial department of Cape Town defines spatial rules and guidelines when designing any space adjoined with a public space, finding ways to accommodate informality? Could these interventions respond to the problems of maintenance⁵²⁰ and activation of private development within Khayelitsha⁵²¹?

The housing backlogs in South Africa (and beyond) remains one of the biggest problems according to formal rules of urbanization. This thesis treated the housing issue precisely in order to demonstrate that the dominant housing policy approach in South Africa is leading the country to neglect alternative approaches which could promote urban restructuring. Therefore, future research should also concentrate on innovative housing proposals generated to support and cooperate with a more inclusive public open space structure.

Provocatively, it could be said that apartheid, by dividing races spatially, inadvertently did something good: it *protected* some cultural habits and traditions over time⁵²². A detailed ethnographic study could demonstrate which of these

⁵²⁰ Maintenance and management issues of existing public spaces is a recognized problem in Cape Town. The recent attempt to face this problem is to store a portion of financial resources for maintenance since the beginning of the project.

⁵²¹ Live-work units are not an innovative solution for Cape Town. In fact, solution which combines house and shops are quite common in neighbourhood like Woodstock and Salt River. However, for the first time, through VPUU, they have been proposed and implemented in a township by the municipality. The development of similar buildings by private owner in Khayelitsha did not happen yet: it is still much more common to construct single-use buildings. At the same time, the activation of the borders of some public spaces through private interventions have been proposed and incentivised by VPUU, but also it did not happen yet.

⁵²² This is particularly evident for richer ethnic group. The consciousness about the history of their ancestors and the limited contact with other races has preserve some traditions. On the

habits and traditions have been preserved. An alternative approach could be to turn everything on its head and consider the divided parts of the city as independent parcels⁵²³, keeping them apart. The narrative of separation in this case would be applied explicitly and perhaps even exaggerated. Since human beings are social animals, would it still be necessary to have a system of public spaces where different people can encounter each other, respecting differences? The rhetorical answer of urban planning might be yes, but a research completely different from this one, may propose alternative and complementary frames of reference.

contrary, the most disadvantages races have been forced to live in spaces defined and structured by others.

⁵²³ The really be independent many changes should happen.

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⁵²⁵ The book has been shared with the author in February 2016 by the architect Nicola Irving. It is now available at the following link: <http://vpau.org.za/success-story/vpau-manual/>. Retrieved March 22, 2018.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. Questionnaire. Semi structure interviews

Objective

What I can discover:

- How men and women use the space? Is there a difference?
- What is the “influence/impact radius” of these spaces?
- Did the intervention helped in creating a better inclusion of the citizens in the city, and in providing an improved spatial justice?
- Do the activities of users correspond to what was planned? or the places where flexible enough to accommodate different functions?
- What is the overall perception of the space?

General

1. Name? (contact)
2. Gender? Female/Male
3. Age? 0-10, 10-20, 20-30, 30-50, >50
4. Occupation? Student, employed, unemployed
5. Where are you at (now)?
6. How long have you been living here for?

Activity/ VPUU space

7. What are you doing here? What kind of activity? Studying, walking, shopping, working (i.e. selling), hanging out, chatting...
8. If you are working here, is it a formal or informal activity?
9. Where do you live (showing map)? 0-500 m/ 1-3 km from Harare project
10. How long have you been living there?
11. Do you know what is VPUU? If yes, how?
12. How long have you been using this space? Do you remember it before VPUU intervention?
13. How did you come here normally? Walking, cycling, taxi, bus, train, car. Main reason why you choose that means?
14. How long does it take?
15. How often do you use this space? Daily/Workdays/Weekend/1-3 a week/ 1-5 month/ less
16. Which spaces/ facilities are you normally using?
17. Do you ever use it in the evening/ night? How about lighting? Until what time?

18. How about safety? VPUU changed?
19. How about your wife/husband/children/ family? Is there any gender issue?
20. If you are working here, what is your timetable? Is the business going well?
21. Who are your clients? Where are they coming from?
22. Are you paying a rent? To who? How much?
23. Do you like the space you are in? Is it fitting right with your needs?
Have you changed something when you have started using it? What?
Do you know who was using the space before you?
If you would like to improve something, what would it be?

Home

24. Where are you from? Are you here with your family?
25. What do you consider as home? What is your neighbourhood?
26. Do you consider Harare/ Khayelitsha as a temporary place to stay?
27. Lack of job is the main reason why you have moved here?
28. Why do you think that here is better to find a job?
29. Do you like Khayelitsha? Why? Harare?
30. If you were living in the city centre or in another suburb do you think it would be the same or you would consider Cape Town as home/ possible place to stay?
31. Which kind of public facilities do you normally use here? Same before intervention?
32. Private/ public space. Is it easy to define these edges?
Where your property begins and ends? Up to where you take responsibility to clean for example?

City

33. If I am telling you “the city”, what do you think of?
34. What makes a “great place”? Which are the main features that comes into your mind? (PPS diagram: sociability, uses & activities, comfort & image, access & linkages)?
35. How often do you go out of Khayelitsha?
36. Where would you go if you go out? How easy is to get there? What kind of transport do you use? How long does it take and how much do you pay of it?
37. If you have been to the city centre, what is the main difference? What is the main positive feature that you would like to have in Khayelitsha?
38. What other public spaces/ facilities do you use in the city?
39. Do you think that public spaces are equally distributed within the city? Y/N - Why?
40. Do you think that the city is still segregated? What do you think could help Cape Town to become more integrate/ inclusive?

The diagram used to understand how local people perceive public space was a simplified version of the diagram designed by Project for Public Space.

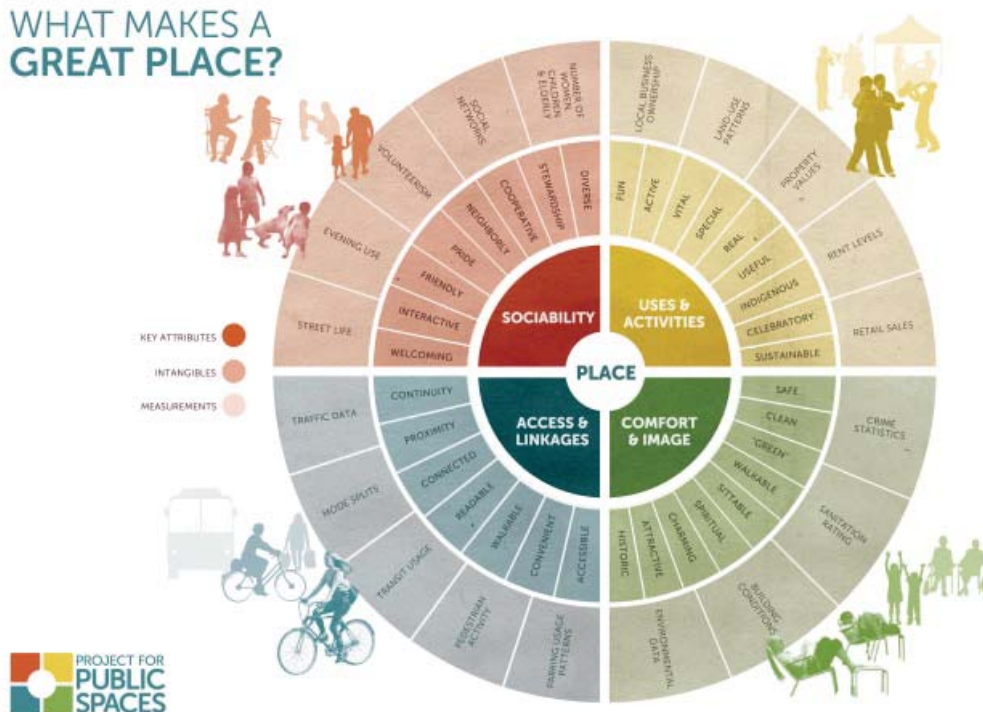


Fig. 115: Project for Public Space diagram⁵²⁶

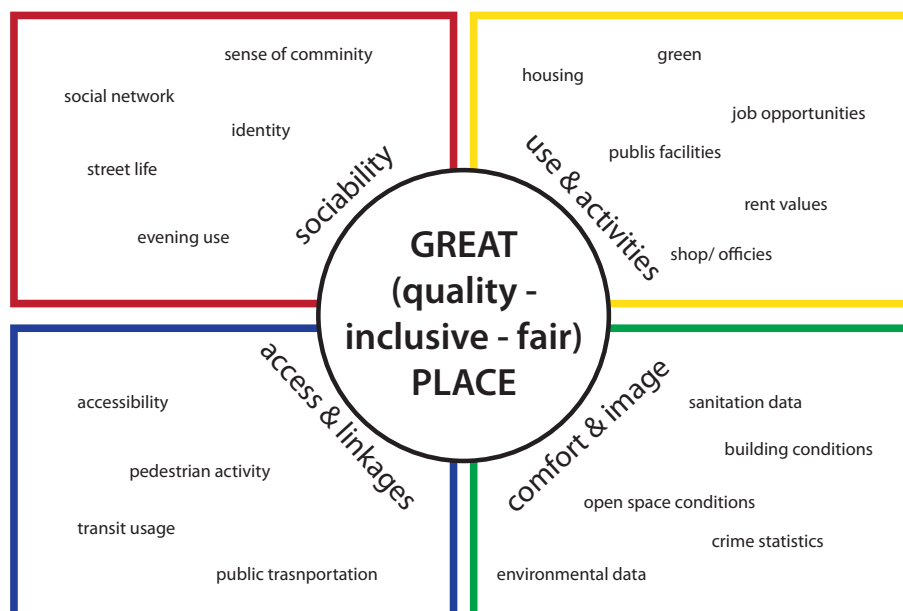


Fig. 116: What is perceived as a great place?, by M. Bodino, 2018

⁵²⁶ Project for Public Spaces non-profit organization idea of successful public space. Retrieved December 7, 2016. <https://www.pps.org/article/grplacefeat>

Appendix 2. Interviews' map and photos

The map shows where interviews have been conducted in precinct 1 and 3.



Fig. 117: Interviews: precinct 1 and 3, by M. Bodino, 2018

The map shows where interviews have been conducted in precinct 4 and 5.



Fig. 118: Interviews: precinct 4 and 5, by M. Bodino, 2018

Appendix 3. Photos of Harare project

All the photographs shown in the next pages have been taken by the author during the field work. Some of them have already been used in chapter 5.3.3, but the intent of this appendix is to simulate a walk of the Harare VPUU project from the Khayelitsha station to the Endlovini informal settlement. Small key plan in the side of the page will help the reader to relate the photos and their precinct.

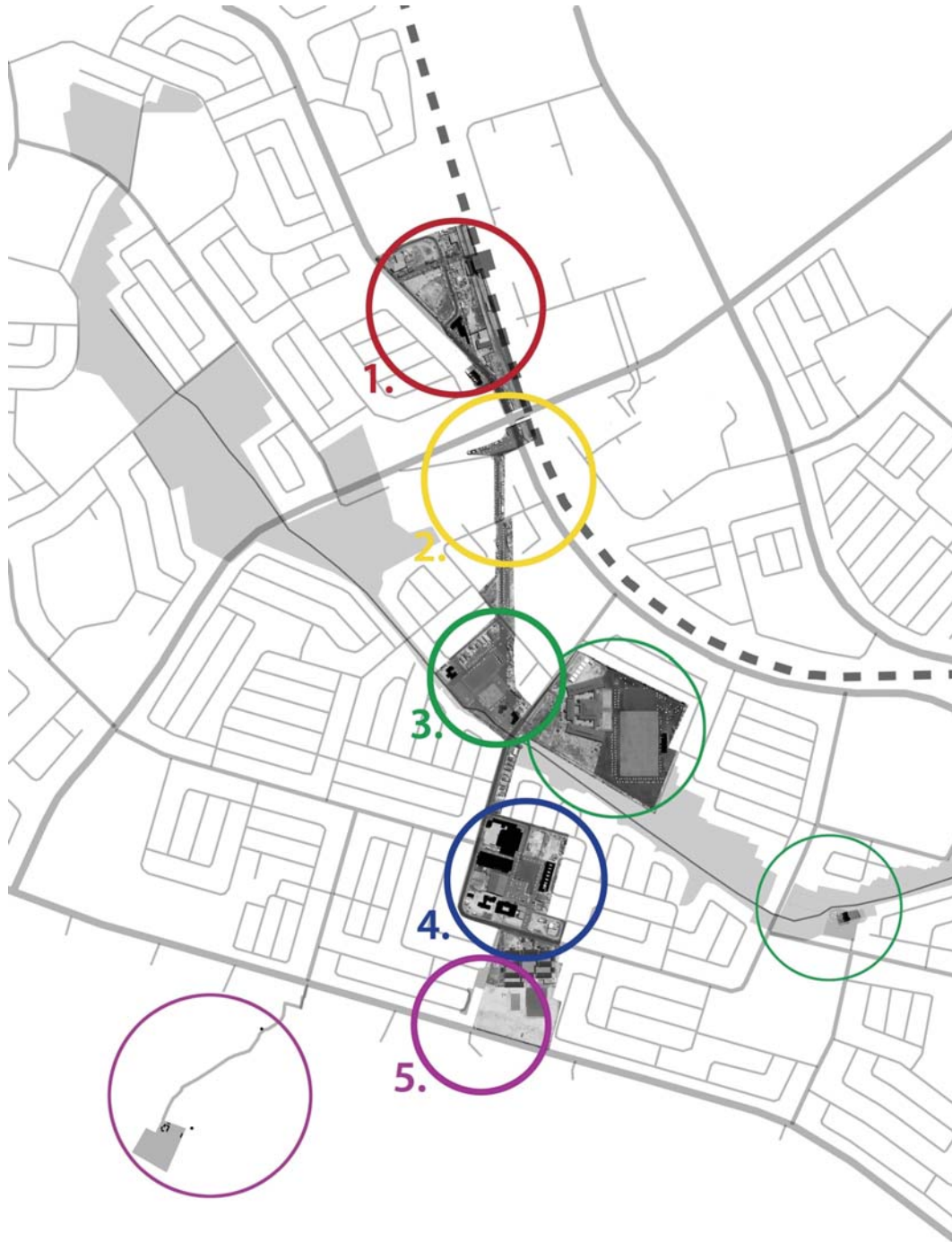


Fig. 119: VPUU project key plan, by M. Bodino, 2018



Fig. 120: Active box next to Harare station, 2017⁵²⁷



Fig. 121: Station active box, 2017⁵²⁸

⁵²⁷ March 27, 2017. From the station ramp the three red floors of the active box as clearly visible. The ground floor host commercial activities. The upper floors should host communal spaces, but the author never noticed a use of those spaces during field work.

⁵²⁸ March 06, 2017. The shop in the corner is called Department of Coffee (<https://www.facebook.com/Department-of-Coffee-455306021156615/>) and it is run by three local young guys. The place used to be quite popular during the first sojourn of the author. In 2017, the shop was closed during field work and a mobile coffee kiosk was opened in the mall at the other side of the station (interview 2017). Red metal cladding is used for the corner part of the building.



Fig. 122: Station activity box, 2017⁵²⁹



Fig. 123: Station live-work units, 2017⁵³⁰

⁵²⁹ March 06, 2017. The picture is looking towards the station. It shows a part of the active box. Lighting provides not only light during the dark but they also set a pace and a direction. They are positioned parallel to the building's canopy. This canopy offers protection from light and rain but it is not used by informal traders.

⁵³⁰ April 03, 2017. On the opposite side of the station, just in from of the active box there is a set of live-work units. When the commercial and manufacture activities at the ground floor are closed (and therefore the shutters are lowered), the passive surveillance should be guarantee by the housing at the upper floor.



Fig. 124: Walkway links just after the bridge crossing, 2017⁵³¹



Fig. 125: Walkway links, 2017⁵³²

⁵³¹ April 9, 2017. To be noticed that the lamps at the top of poles have been stolen and that informal traders use the landscaping vases as vending areas. Trees, when alive, provide some shadows. This image shows the spontaneous use of VPUU spaces and therefore its flexibility.

⁵³² February 21, 2017. To be noticed that the lamps at the top of poles have been stolen. The right side of the path is defined by a low fence: the relation with the street is therefore missing. On the other side, some small activities take advantage of the passage of people. Use of material in the paving, sitting spaces is coherent throughout the project.



Fig. 126: Walkway links, 2017⁵³³



Fig. 127: Walkway links towards urban park, 2017⁵³⁴

⁵³³ February 24, 2017. To be noticed that the lamp at the top of poles have been stolen. The right side of the path is undefined: it a vacant land use for littering despite the presence of bins. The houses on the other side turn the back towards the path. The VPUU hence is a linear pedestrian connection which do not act as a public space since it does not relate with the context.

⁵³⁴ March 02, 2017. When the linear park intersects the urban park, new reference points are visible (tall red, red-white buildings).

Fig. 128: Harare urban park, 2017⁵³⁵Fig. 129: Harare urban park, 2017⁵³⁶

⁵³⁵ March 28, 2017. The photo shows the recreational area in front of the active box in Harare urban park. A playground for children quite used by locals, especially by children after school. Moreover, many children walk along this route to go or come back from school.

⁵³⁶ April 03, 2017. The grass field is visible in the right side of the image. The level of the ground is slightly lower than the path, allowing the creation of terraced steps. Few higher lightings are designed since the space is quite big. A low wall defines the edge between public and private, but shacks give the back to the public space.



Fig. 130: Harare urban park, 2017⁵³⁷



Fig. 131: Harare urban park, 2017⁵³⁸



Fig. 132: FIFA football for hope centre, 2017⁵³⁹

⁵³⁷ April 03, 2017. The photo shows that the urban park is very big and many kids use the space. The scale of the open space is not proportional with the height of the existing and new building around it.

⁵³⁸ April 03, 2017. The image shows that the area is used as a huge recreational area. During some hours of the day (when schools finish for example) the space is full of people.

⁵³⁹ February 24, 2017. The small FIFA building act as a catalyst for many people using sport as a tool (4,000 young people were involved in 2016 according to the interview with the site coordinator, 2017). The organization works in cooperation with local schools, it involves children, teenagers and also adults.



Fig. 133: Cycle route from Harare urban park, 2017⁵⁴⁰



Fig. 134: Active box in Harare urban park, 2016⁵⁴¹

⁵⁴⁰ March 28, 2017. When the urban park meets the road, the environment change: a huge vacant land is visible. This empty space is a piece of the big Harare green belt which is unfortunately very unsafe and controlled by gangs, according to locals. There should be a cycle path, but only a neglected sandy toad can be seen.

⁵⁴¹ March 05, 2016. One of the first visit to VPUU spaces happens in 2016, with a group of local students, architects and researchers. It was a good opportunity to exchange ideas and impressions.



Fig. 135: Active box in Harare urban park, 2016⁵⁴²



Fig. 136: Activity box in Harare urban park, 2016⁵⁴³

⁵⁴² March 05, 2016. The façade of the building towards the park is decorated with a mosaic. The artist who have worked on this mosaic trained local artists and involved the community in the creation on the mosaic itself (Interview with Klitzner and James, 2017)

⁵⁴³ March 05, 2016. The side of the building on the road is not very inviting. During the field work, the author rarely has seen the spaces used.

Fig. 137: Kwamfundo sport facility, 2017⁵⁴⁴Fig. 138: Kwamfundo sport facility, 2017⁵⁴⁵

⁵⁴⁴ February 24, 2017. The materials used in this building – even if it is inside a school plot – are coherent with the other VPUU buildings: bricks and plaster. The building is quite big and provides services for the football pitch in front of it.

⁵⁴⁵ February 24, 2017. The building of the sport facility is placed within the school plot, on the opposite side of the entrance. There is a secondary entrance next to the building to allow access to the sport area for people from the neighbourhood not using the school, but the building does not relate spatially with it.



Fig. 139: Peace park, 2017⁵⁴⁶



Fig. 140: Peace park, 2017⁵⁴⁷

⁵⁴⁶ February 21, 2017. The area is not considered safe. In fact, the name peace park is never used by locals. The metal fences were not designed in the original project. The two asphalt roads are the cycle route who cross the green belt. Sand takes place to grass.

⁵⁴⁷ April 15, 2017. A playground area has been implement next to the active box, but the building has been vandalized and the caretaker living there is afraid of spending time there (interview 2017).



Fig. 141: Back of business hub with caretaker's house, 2017⁵⁴⁸



Fig. 142: One side of the business hub, 2017⁵⁴⁹

⁵⁴⁸ May 04, 2017. The three floors corner of the building act as a landmark and is visible from Harare urban park. The business hub block has its main access from this road, through which cars can enter and load-unload. Brick, plaster and metal cladding are used for the façades.

⁵⁴⁹ April 15, 2017. The side of the business hub towards the square provide a pedestrian connection with shadow (thanks to the continuation of the roof over the limit of the building). Small commercial activities find a place in this area, where the building is placed on the boundary.



Fig. 143: Another side of the business hub, 2017⁵⁵⁰



Fig. 144: Side of Harare library, 2017⁵⁵¹

⁵⁵⁰ March 06, 2017. This side of the block is also built at the edge of the plot. At the corner, there is the entrance of the Feel Good Store, a quite big shop which sells clothes and it is part of the Learn to Earn organization (interview 2017)

⁵⁵¹ March 04, 2017. The photo shows a secondary entrance of Harare where a toy library is. This space is used also by children of different pre-schools of the area and local organization as Sikula Sonke (interview 2017). The corner is three storey high, it is visible from the urban park and the upper floor host the caretaker apartment.

Fig. 145: Harare square, 2016⁵⁵²Fig. 146: Harare square, 2016⁵⁵³Fig. 147: Harare square, 2017⁵⁵⁴

⁵⁵² March 23, 2016. The panoramic photo shows the uniformity of colours and materials of the square. Lighting, green, accessibility, relation with the surrounding buildings is provided.

⁵⁵³ March 05, 2016. The terraced steps define the limit between the part of the square accessible to cars and the one reserved for pedestrians.

⁵⁵⁴ April 03, 2017. On the upper part, the paved pedestrian square is used for different activities. The photo shows how people use the space as an informal market to sell their goods.



Fig. 148: Entrance of Harare library, 2016⁵⁵⁵



Fig. 149: Harare library, 2017⁵⁵⁶

⁵⁵⁵ March 05, 2016. The library is a big building (three storey), but the entrance is clearly visible. Its façade is decorated with a mosaic as the active box in the urban park). The artist who have worked on this mosaic trained local artists and involved the community in the creation on the mosaic itself (Interview with Klitzner and James, 2017). The entrance provides shadow and weather protection. Same benches and steps in front of the entrance are used even when the library is closed. Colours or paving reflects colours of the façade.

⁵⁵⁶ April 19, 2017. The photo is taken from a vacant abandoned land where a public toilet is placed. This side of the square is not defined at all.



Fig. 150: Harare square north side, 2017⁵⁵⁷



Fig. 151: Harare square south side, 2017⁵⁵⁸



Fig. 152: Harare square north side, 2017⁵⁵⁹

⁵⁵⁷ April 03, 2017. This side of the square is completely undefined. The slope of the square looks towards it, showing the sterility and sprawl of the township.

⁵⁵⁸ April 19, 2017. The photo is taken from the vacant piece of land shown above.

⁵⁵⁹ April 19, 2017. In the middle of the vacant land a wall is erected: local artist painted it writing: “welcome the Harare square”.



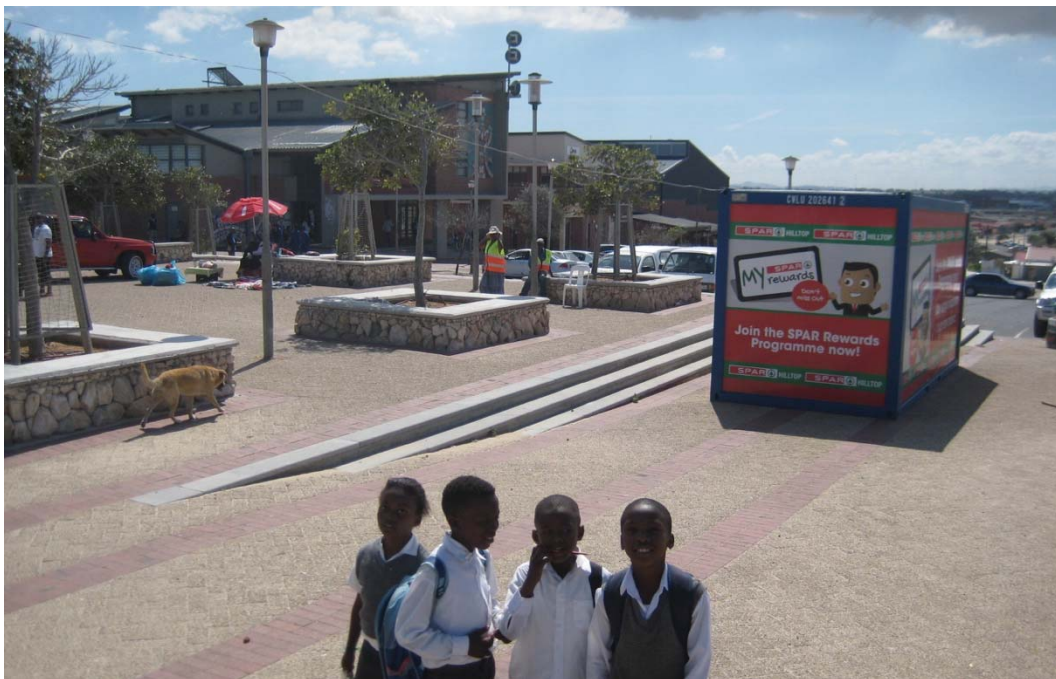
Fig. 153: Harare library: interior, 2017⁵⁶⁰



Fig. 154: Harare library: interior, 2016⁵⁶¹

⁵⁶⁰ March 04, 2017. The interior of the library is full of light coming mostly from the roof. The plan of the building is a long rectangle in which different function are placed. The entrance is placed on the short side. People of different age use this space, Wi-Fi is provided, as well as spaces for studying, reading, playing...

⁵⁶¹ March 04, 2017. Ramps connects the floors of the library distributing also the light.

Fig. 155: Harare library entrance, 2017⁵⁶²Fig. 156: Harare square, 2017⁵⁶³

⁵⁶² May 27, 2017. The material used inside the library (especially the brick floor and the mosaic in the entrance desk) create a continuity between the interior and the exterior of the building.

⁵⁶³ May 27, 2017. Thanks to the concentration of activities as uses, Harare square is often used by different people: kids going or coming from schools, people selling goods, *neighbourhood watch* people (volunteers who provide security of the neighbourhood).



Fig. 157: Harare square, 2017⁵⁶⁴



Fig. 158: Harare square, 2017⁵⁶⁵

⁵⁶⁴ May 04, 2017. The south and upper side of the square host the existing Masibambane Hall, which have been renewed by VPUU. The building now hosts the Councillor office and the Youth Life Centre which organize and involve young people and teenagers of the neighbourhood. The Environmental and Health Office was also rebuilt improving its relation with the square.

⁵⁶⁵ April 05, 2017. From the balcony of the Youth Centre the square is clearly visible, with the opposite side completely empty. On the left side, there is a supermarket: one of the few buildings that already exist before the VPUU programme.



Fig. 159: Example of Harare square live-work unit, 2017⁵⁶⁶



Fig. 160: Back side of live-work unit, 2017⁵⁶⁷

⁵⁶⁶ April 05, 2017. The units provide spaces for commercial activities at the ground floor and residential at the upper floor. There is also a small courtyard and another piece of the building in the back. Each unit is divided from the other by a wall therefore the pedestrians have to walk in the sidewalk of the square. Those “semi-closed” spaces are quite problematic in terms of security.

⁵⁶⁷ April 05, 2017. The gating of the back entrance was not designed in the original design. It has been added later. The buildings on this side are just one floor.



Fig. 161: VPUU path in Endlovini, 2017 ⁵⁶⁸



Fig. 162: VPUU path in Endlovini, 2017 ⁵⁶⁹

⁵⁶⁸ March 30, 2017. An existing pedestrian path have been paved in Endlovini. When the path turns a yellow colour has been applied on the paving and on its side: the material of the floor changes in these areas from block paving to gravel in order to provide a permeable surface to collect water in the rain seasons.

⁵⁶⁹ March 30, 2017. It has to be noticed that most of the house have a conflictual relation with the space outside the private plot: barbed wire as well as other forms of fences are placed.



Fig. 163: VPUU Emthonjeni in Endlovini, 2017 ⁵⁷⁰



Fig. 164: VPUU intervention in Endlovini, 2017 ⁵⁷¹

⁵⁷⁰ March 30, 2017. The photo shows an example of Emthonjeni. It consists of a small space within shacks which serve as a public space. It normally has a public tap where people can go to take water and wash clothes, but it is also used by local CBOs and for Early Child Development activities (as in the case of the picture).

⁵⁷¹ March 30, 2017. A sport pitch has been defined at the edges of Endlovini settlement. Next to it, some VPUU offices and common spaces have been created: the yellow bus for example is used as a play room for kids.

Appendix 4. VPUU project plans

4.1 Completed project report – 2014

Harare safe node area: Jonker + Barnes architects for VPUU, 2014.



01 Introduction

The Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading (VPUU) programme in Khayelitsha is a co-operative initiative by the Gerban Government and the City of Cape Town. The project aims to reduce violence and prevent crime, and consequently improve the quality of life of the population. The goal of the programme was to implement a combination of situational, social and institutional crime prevention initiatives within four designated "Safe Node Areas". The areas were defined as heterogeneous neighbourhoods with a need for improvement and are all transport, pedestrian, commercial and trading interchanges and were as follows:

Site C:
The area around Nolongile Railway Station.

Site B:
The pedestrian links between Nonkubela Railway Station and a cluster of high schools.

Kuyasa:
The transport interchange and the pedestrian links on the north and south side of Kuyasa Railway Station.

Harare:
The pedestrian route through the suburb of Harare between Khayelitsha Railway Station and Monwabisi informal settlement south of Mew Way.



Map of Khayelitsha showing the 4 Safe Node Areas

Each intervention consisted of four integral components: Capital Infrastructure, Social Development, Supporting Measures such as capacity building, and operation and management, Monitoring and Evaluation. Initial work commenced in the Harare Safe Node area in 2005. Like most of Khayelitsha, the suburb of Harare is characterised by low density development and large tracts of underdeveloped land, resulting in low levels of natural surveillance and high levels of crime. A Precinct Plan was prepared for the safe node area, which divided into five separate precincts, each with its own specific character and design approach:

- Precinct 1 - The Station Precinct
- Precinct 2 - The Bridge and Link
- Precinct 3 - Recreational Precinct
- Precinct 4 - Economic & Social Precinct
- Precinct 5 - Mew Way



Precinct Plan for Harare Safe Node Area

02 Design Approach

Live Work Units

One of the key responses to the 'integration of uses' design tool was to investigate combining living and working functions within one 'live work' unit. By encouraging living and working at the same place, the cost of transport and childcare would reduce and create greater activity and natural surveillance on streets and squares. As part of a pilot project, a number of live work units were built in Harare Square and in Precinct 1, along the pedestrian route linking the square to railway station.

Schools as community centres

A number of recommendations were proposed to develop schools as Lifelong Learning Centres. The goal was that the schools offer a range of activities for the whole community, that were in easy walking distance and situated within a safe environment. To this end, a football pitch of international standards together with additional sporting code facilities was developed at Kwamfundo School.

Materials

A robust approach to choice of materials and methods of construction was adopted. Wherever possible materials should be locally made with a low carbon footprint, be easily replaceable and easy to maintain. Uncomplicated construction methods were chosen to accommodate local contractor with minimal experience. Use was made of energy and water saving devices, such as solar panels to heat water, heat pumps for underfloor heating, and aerators in shower roses and metered taps.

The projects presented

The following completed projects are presented in this report:

Harare Park: Harare Park Active Box

Precinct 1: P1 Active Box

P1 Live Work Units

Precinct 3: P3 Active Box

Kwamfundo School Sports Facility

Precinct 4: Harare Square Live Work Units

Masibambane

Business Hub

The container building in Site C will also be presented.



Source: Machiel Erasmus

02 Design Approach

The overall urban design approach to all the projects was informed by 'The VPUU Urban Design Principles for a Safe Node'. Based on both the VPUU Crime mapping and the Crime Prevention through Environmental Design (CPTED) principles of surveillance and visibility, territoriality, defined access and safe movement, image and aesthetics, physical barriers, management and maintenance; the following 'Design Tools' were developed as a practical method for implementing these principles:

- Assemblage of activities
- Integration of uses
- Site layout, active frontages and landscaping
- Visual connections
- Signage
- Movement networks

These tools are used as the benchmark in the creation of safe and dignified public spaces that have a clear spatial structure and that provide safe well-utilised public spaces. Specific emphasis was placed on established pedestrian routes and links to destinations.

Active Boxes

In response to the 'visual connections' design tool, a series of identifiable vertical elements or landmarks were proposed. Developed in a network along major pedestrian desire lines, the Active Boxes become beacons of positive occupation of spaces that were perceived to have been dangerous. The Boxes have been developed as small multi-purpose buildings and serve as an orientation device and be a point of refuge should a criminal situation arise. They can be free standing buildings or form part of a larger development, and should accommodate a range of activities appropriate to the site and that ensure day time and night time activity.

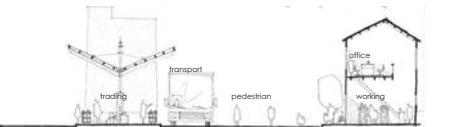
All Active Boxes include a Caretaker's Flat and an easily identifiable vertical circulation element. They are clad with glazed elements and vibrant red metal panels making them easily identifiable during daylight hours. Energy efficient fluorescent light fittings wash light on the external face of the building creating a glowing beacon or 'light box' within the landscape after dark. Four Active Boxes have been built along the pedestrian route.



Site layout and active frontages: Natural surveillance is achieved by activating frontages.



Integration of uses: Mix land use activities promotes longer periods of activity.



Assemblage of activities: A range of activities along a route encourages a greater number of feet.



Signage: Effective signage improves orientation and legibility along routes.



Visual connections: Clear sight lines from door to destination improves perceptions of safety.

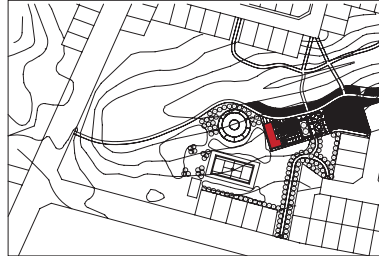
03 Harare Park Active Box

Although not situated on the Harare Safe Node Area pedestrian route, Harare Park was identified for development of the first Active Box. An existing single storey meeting room and toilet facility building located alongside the cycle path and other pedestrian routes was well situated to achieve the objectives for an Active Box.

The building consisted of a meeting room and a toilet facility that were in a poor state of disrepair. The building was situated within an incomplete landscaped public space. An additional floor was added to provide a meeting room for the neighbourhood watch patrol team and a small Caretaker's Flat. The centrally placed stairwell presented the opportunity to create an easily identifiable vertical or 'landmark' element that could serve as an orientation device and be identifiable as a place of refuge.

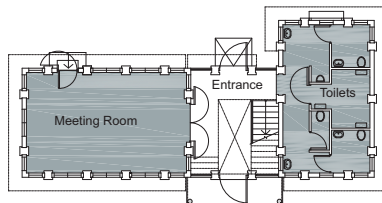
The stairwell was clad with a combination of steel mesh and red sheet metal panels. The mesh allowed for a well ventilated circulation space and ensured natural surveillance of the park and surrounds. The red colour of the sheet metal makes the building easily identifiable during daylight hours. Energy efficient fluorescent lighting provides a wash of light on to the external face of the sheeting creating a glowing beacon or 'light box' within the landscape after dark. The first floor meeting room has been fitted with large windows on three sides to allow clear visibility of the cycle and pedestrian paths passing through the park.

Rough plaster was applied to the external walls of the existing building to unify a variety of wall finishes and provide robust base for the building. Solar heating was used for the provision of hot water. The project was completed in 2008.

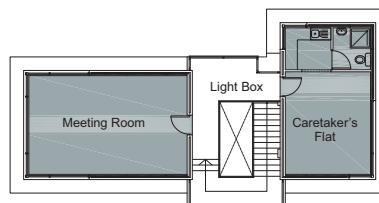


Improvements to and extension of the landscaping of the surrounding public space was completed under a separate contract at a later stage by Tarna Kiltzner Landscape Architects.

Works included
Thoroughfare for school children



Ground Floor Plan



First Floor Plan

VPUU Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading, Khayelitsha

43

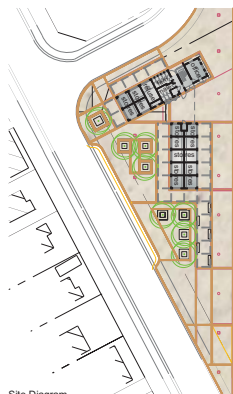
04 Precinct 1 Active Box

The P1 Active Box is situated on the western forecourt of Khayelitsha Railway Station and forms part of the first phase of the development of the forecourt as a trading precinct. Fourteen of the then fifty two Ntazane informal traders, were accommodated in the trading units on the ground floor. Covered lean-to roofs serve as display areas for their merchandise with additional roofing and benches for smaller-scale entrepreneurs. A coffee shop and toilet and refuse facilities make up the rest of the ground floor accommodation. First and second floors accommodate meeting and training rooms, NGO offices and a caretaker's flat. The stair tower and the 'bridge' meeting room are clad in red metal sheeting and serve as a clear landmark in this precinct, while after

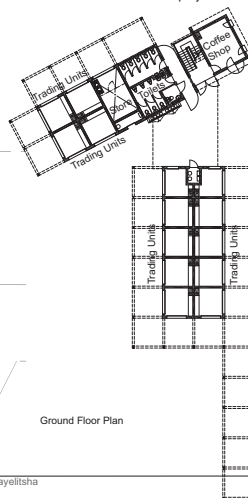
dark the stair tower is illuminated becomes a 'light box'. The robust finish to the building is rough tinted plaster accented with smooth plaster panels. Hot water is provided by a number of solar panels with gas back-up for the winter months.

A number of pedestrian desire lines that criss-crossed this triangular site determined the positions of the various building elements. The site's relationship to the railway station and the overall development plan for this precinct determined the massing of the elements. The landscaping design was undertaken by Tarna Kiltzner Landscape Architects.

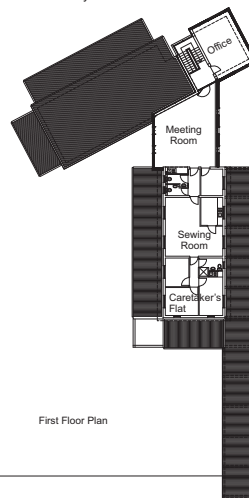
The project was completed in February 2010.



Site Diagram



Ground Floor Plan



First Floor Plan



VPUU Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading, Khayelitsha

43

05 Precinct 1 Live Work Units

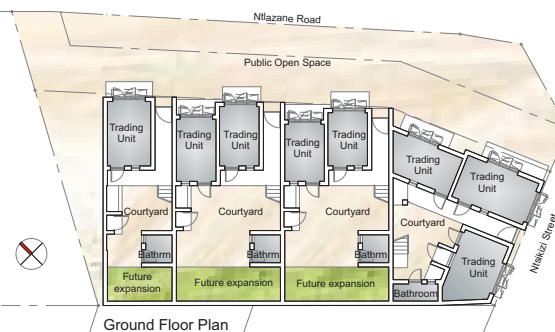
This corner site is a key node for pedestrians as they cross Ntazane Road to and from Khayelitsha Railway Station. The footprint of the spaza shops which originally occupied this site and provided a strong active edge to this pedestrian route, was a key informant to the design of four live work units. The design intention was to integrate working and living functions so as to provide 'eyes on the street' or natural surveillance both day and night. Therefore, a row of workshops or trading units have been provided at ground floor level to accommodate a wide range of activities, in a similar way to the previous spaza shops. Living accommodation is located on the first floor level.

To the back of the property the units open onto courtyards with bathroom facilities and room for building expansion or backyard dwellings. The public open space in front of the units creates the interface between the street and the building, and provides the ideal space for the traders to extend their activities, and for pedestrians to pass safely.

By positioning the trading spaces, living rooms and balconies on the street edge of the property, a positive and vibrant edge to the public realm is created. Robust brickwork construction was used for the walls with treated steel roofs. Insulation was used in the floor slabs and in the roof spaces, solar power for hot water heating and generous overhangs of at ground and first floor level for protection from the elements for the traders and to the residential units. The project was completed in 2012.



First Floor Plan



Ground Floor Plan

VPUU Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading, Khayelitsha



43

06 Precinct 3 Active Box and Urban Park

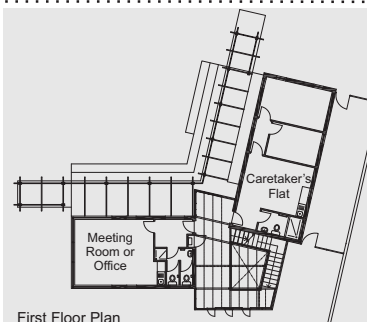
The storm water detention pond in Precinct 3 presented a good example of the underdevelopment of open space typical in Khayelitsha. It formed part of the pedestrian desire line to and from Khayelitsha Railway Station yet the lack of natural surveillance and positive occupation of land made it unsafe. The design approach was therefore to develop a community urban park and to construct a small multi-purpose Active Box overlooking it.

The Active Box frames the north-east corner of the urban park and accommodates a tuck shop, an equipment store room and a community meeting room on the ground floor, with a second meeting room and caretaker's flat on the first floor. The vertical circulation element once again functions as an orientation and identity landmark, linking Harare Park and Harare Square to the railway station.

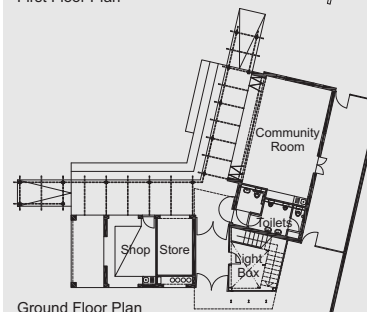
The mosaic wall and dirt bins were designed and executed by members of the local community after receiving training at a number of workshops. Likewise, under the guidance of a metal artist, a group of local welders designed and made the security screens to the shop and the tree guards in the park.

The landscape design of the urban park was undertaken by Tarna Klitzner Landscape Architects. The water detention function of the park were accommodated in two depressed informal football pitches, while the pedestrian routes are well-lit and clearly demarcated. A play area for younger children has been provided and the benches and trees provide places for pause and interaction. Use was made of high quality long lasting materials and designs that local people with minimal skills will be able to maintain. The FIFA Football for Hope centre and football pitch was undertaken by others for the 2010 Soccer World Cup.

The project was completed in 2009.



First Floor Plan



Ground Floor Plan



VPUU Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading, Khayelitsha

43

07 Precinct 3 Kwamfundo Sports Facility

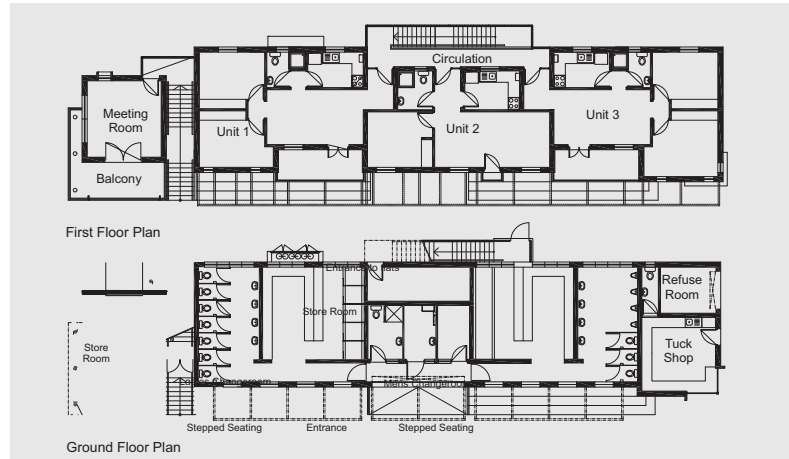
In keeping with the VPUU approach to schools as Lifelong Learning Centres, additional funding was sourced to provide an international standards football pitch at Kwamfundo School. The pitch was intended to be used by local schools and football clubs. It has been equipped with floodlights and an irrigation system, which takes water from a purpose built borehole.

A double story sports facility building was developed alongside the pitch to accommodate changing facilities, store rooms, and a shop at ground floor level, and dwelling units, office and meeting rooms at first floor level. External stepped seating forms the plinth on the western face of the building and is shaded by a row of large trees.

Extensive use was made of pergolas, sun screens and deep roof overhangs to provide shading from the afternoon sun.

As with all the other projects, use was made of robust materials and construction methods. Wherever possible use was made of materials sourced as close to the site and with a low embodied energy. Recycled 'plastic timber' was used to clad the south stair and landing. Water to the showers and kitchens is heated by solar panels with gas back up, while water saving devices such as metered taps and shower rose aerators have been used.

The project was completed in February 2010.



VPUU Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading, Khayelitsha



43

08 Precinct 4 Harare Square Live Work Units

In response to the Urban Design Principle's 'Integration of Use' design tool, it was decided to investigate combining living and working functions within one 'live-work' unit. The concept is based on the traditional multi-purpose dwelling that featured ground floor 'shop-front' trading and first floor residential accommodation. As part of a pilot project, a row of live-work units were built facing both Harare Square and Cephe Street.

The 'row' house model was adopted to create an urban edge that would respond positively to the street and the square. Double and single storey buildings were positioned on the perimeter of the site to create this presence and allow growth to occur inwards. It allowed for a transition from the very public spaces via semi-private entrance stoeps to the privacy of courtyards.

By encouraging living and working at the same place, the cost of transport and the cost childcare would also be reduced. Appropriate choice of materials, energy efficiency, water saving and environmental issues were also part of the design brief.

A sample survey of seven live-work housing requirements in Harare was undertaken in October 2007 in order to inform the design of the units.

Two clear living and working patterns emerged from this survey:

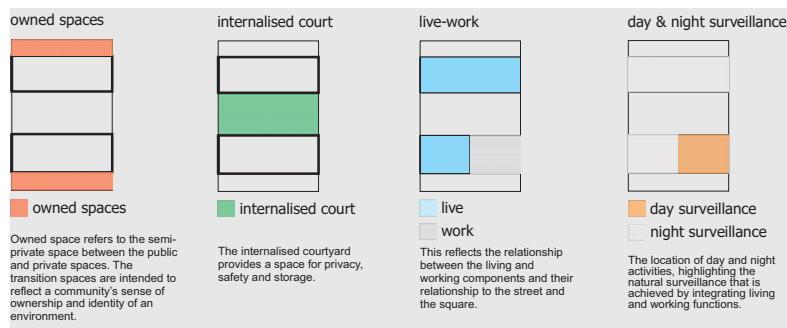
1. Some businesses such as the metal workers and upholsterers keep work functions very separate from their living functions.
2. On the other hand, businesses such as small scale sewing and beading enterprises have a complete integration of both functions within the home.

The layout of the units therefore recognised that the way in which a house grows spatially, reflecting both the growth of the family and the growth of income. The vision for units was to provide dwellings that were not only a home but also an opportunity for income generation.

The design response was to provide a basic 'starter' unit that would accommodate a living component and a home-based working component and that would be able to grow incrementally to suit the growth needs of both the living and working components and cater for a range of work or commercial requirements.

In order to give smaller (and in some cases local) contractors and opportunity, the units were built in pairs under four separate contracts.

The units were completed between October 2010 and October 2011.



VPUU Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading, Khayelitsha



43

09 Precinct 4 Masibambane

Situated at the highest point of Harare Square, the brief for this project was to upgrade the existing run down Masibambane building into a 'Love Life Y-Centre', with offices and meeting rooms for local community groups and NGO's. This included moving the toilet facilities from the front of the building to the rear, adding an additional storey to the building facing the square, and developing a functional entrance stoep that provided an easy link to the trading platforms on Harare Square.

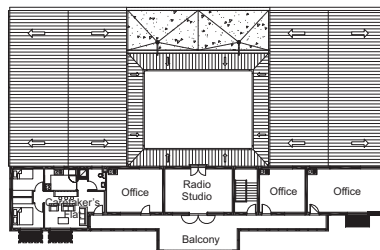
Accommodation on the ground floor is centred around a courtyard and includes an Activity Hall, Training Room, Computer Room, Consultation Rooms, offices and services. On the first floor a number of multi-purpose offices, a caretaker's flat and a Radio Studio spill onto a balcony that is wide enough to double up as a stage onto the square. The general approach was therefore to reverse the inward-looking nature of the building to one that would interact with Harare Square and thus enhance visibility and natural surveillance, one of the five key urban design principles for the VPUU projects. A number of design tools were used to achieve this:

- Activating the frontage of the building by positioning suitably glazed high usage rooms facing the square with a balcony as a means of access.
- Widening the entrance stoep to provide a platform for informal meeting, performance and interaction with the square. Window seats were also incorporated as an additional element to encourage gathering.
- Widening the first floor balcony in front on the Radio Studio creates a stage for outdoor broadcasts and concerts.

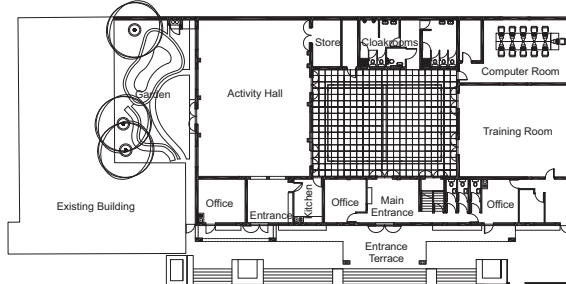
The building is also designed to be as environmentally sustainable as possible, and includes elements such as the harvesting of rain water for toilet flushing and irrigation purposes, solar panels for hot water heating, sun screens to shade the north facing windows and aerators in the shower roses.

The project was completed in April 2013.

VPUU Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading, Khayelitsha



Upper Floor Plan



Ground Floor Plan



10 Precinct 4 Harare Square & Business Hub

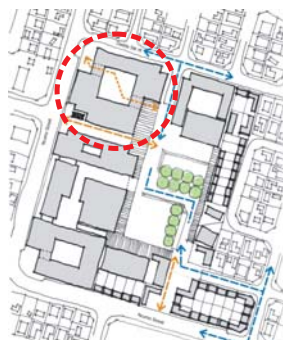
Precinct 4 at Harare Square was conceived as an urban sub-node with a mix of economic, community and residential uses. The positive and integrated occupation of the square would create a safe environment for pedestrians and users of the square. The design approach was therefore to formalise the existing square into an integrated public place that focused on a wide range of activities and to ensure that the facing multi-purpose developments contribute to this activity. Similarly, the safety of the pedestrians along Ncuno Road would be improved by activating the edges. The development of a mixed use Business Hub on the north western edge of the square formed a part of this vision.

The building comprises a number of buildings. Canopied trading units intended to boost economic opportunities for local entrepreneurs are situated on two of the site boundaries and provide an active edge to two large warehouse buildings. An adjacent double storey building is designed to house a Bakery

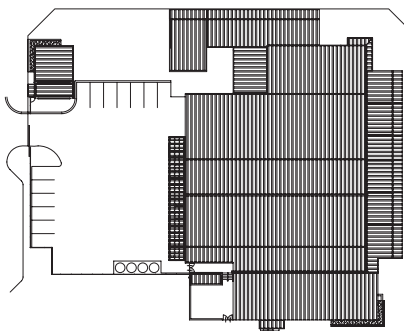
on the ground floor and small business support centre on the first floor. An Active Box on the north west corner of the site provides the vertical 'landmark' element to the development and houses a community meeting room and a caretaker's flat. It will also accommodate the entrance to a Gymnasium that will be completed as a separate project.

Heat pumps have been used to provide energy for underfloor heating in the office areas and the covert the heat from the bakery ovens into hot water heating for the entire development. Prudent water design includes the installation of a borehole for irrigation of all the trees in Harare Square and the use of the waterless urinals. Use was also made of Ecobams in two of the buildings. Working in conjunction with mosaic artist Lovell Friedman, local mosaic artists created a 'mat' from recycled floor tiles on the floor at the entrance to the double storey building.

The project was completed in March 2013.



Precinct Plan



Site Plan

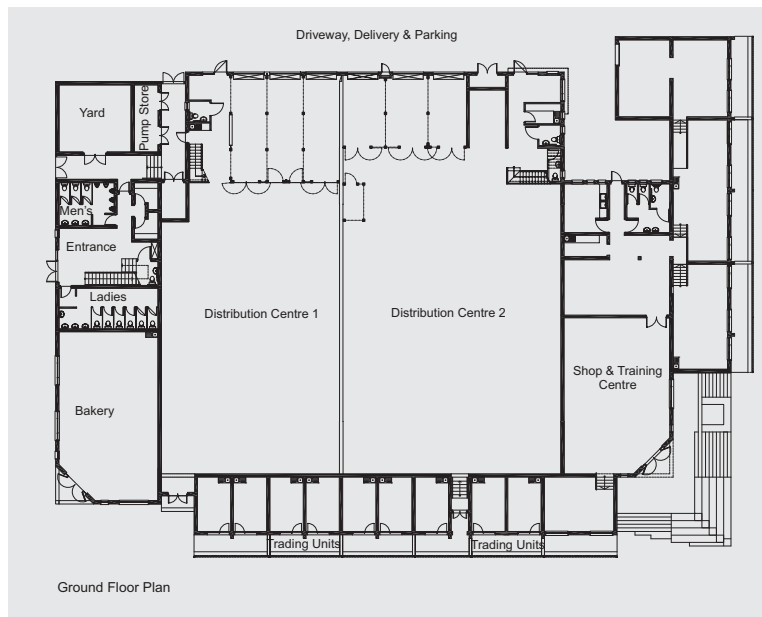


Source: Machiel Erasmus

Source: Machiel Erasmus

VPUU Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading, Khayelitsha

10 .Precinct 4 Harare Square & Business Hub

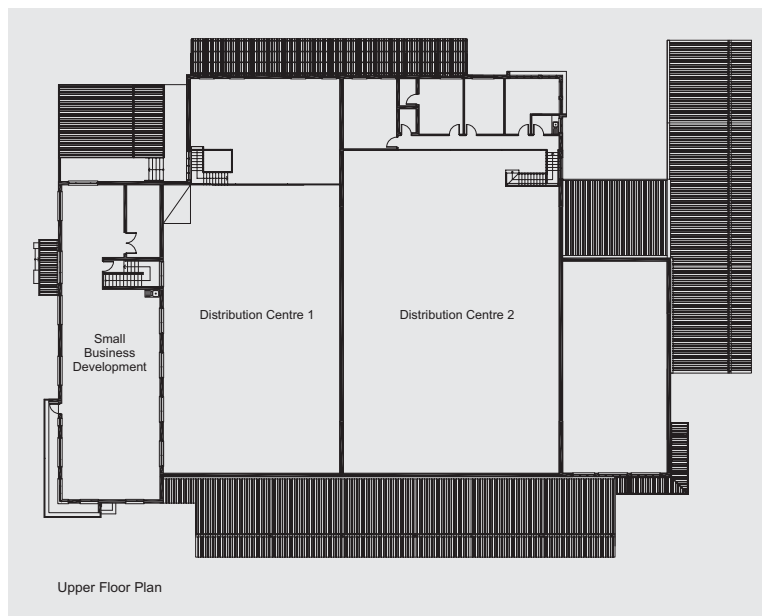


VPUU Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading, Khayelitsha



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10 .Precinct 4 Harare Square & Business Hub



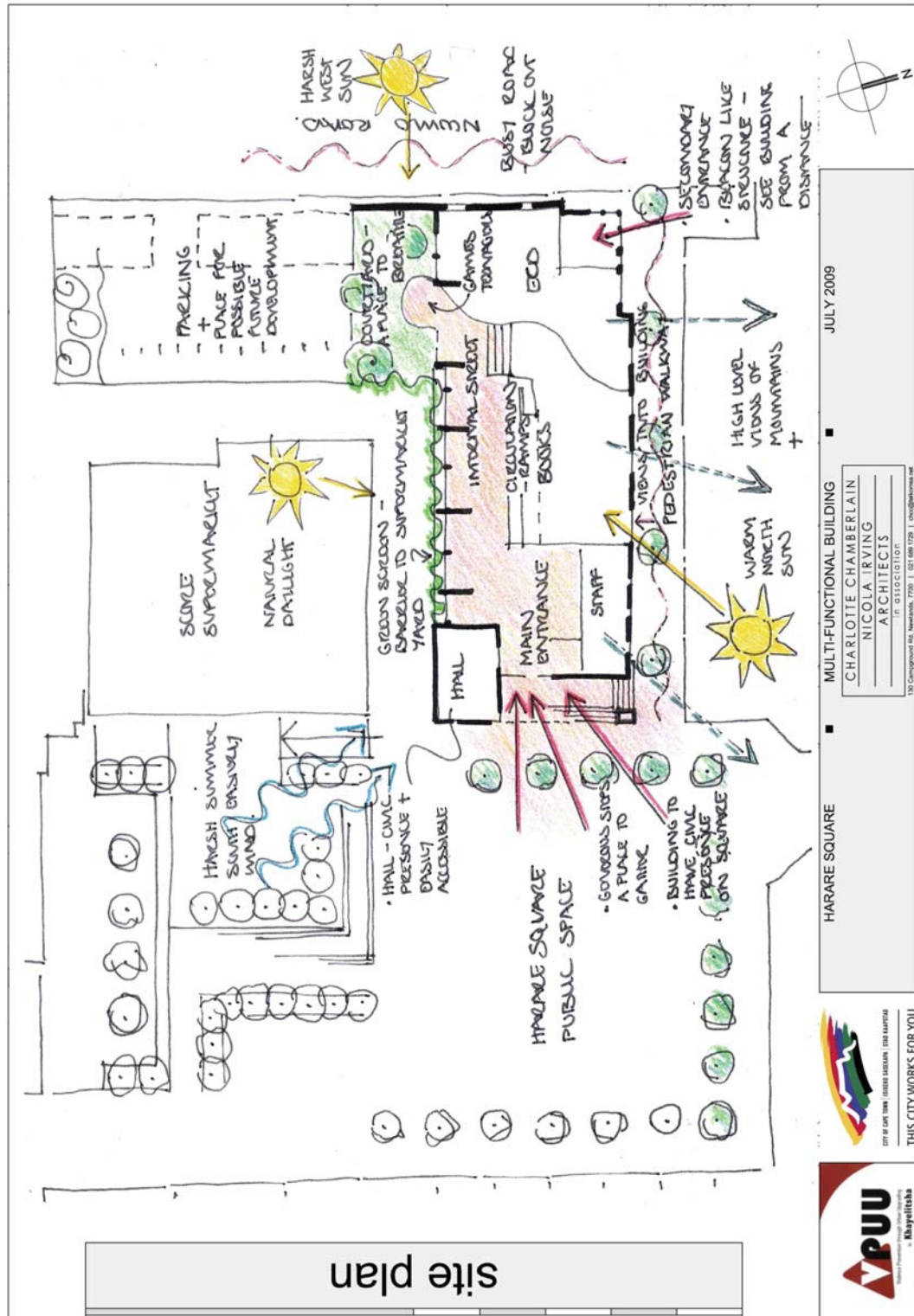
VPUU Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading, Khayelitsha

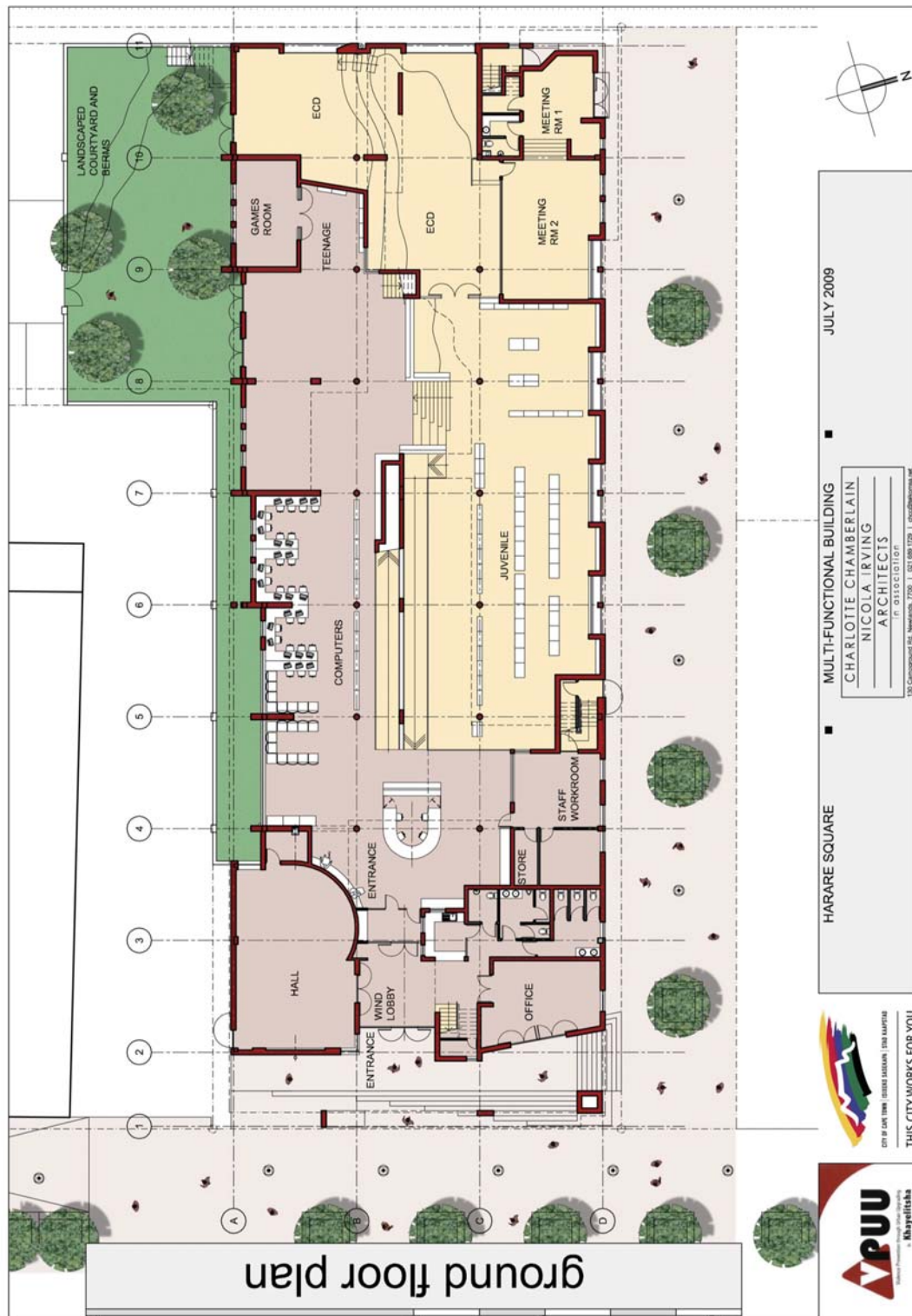


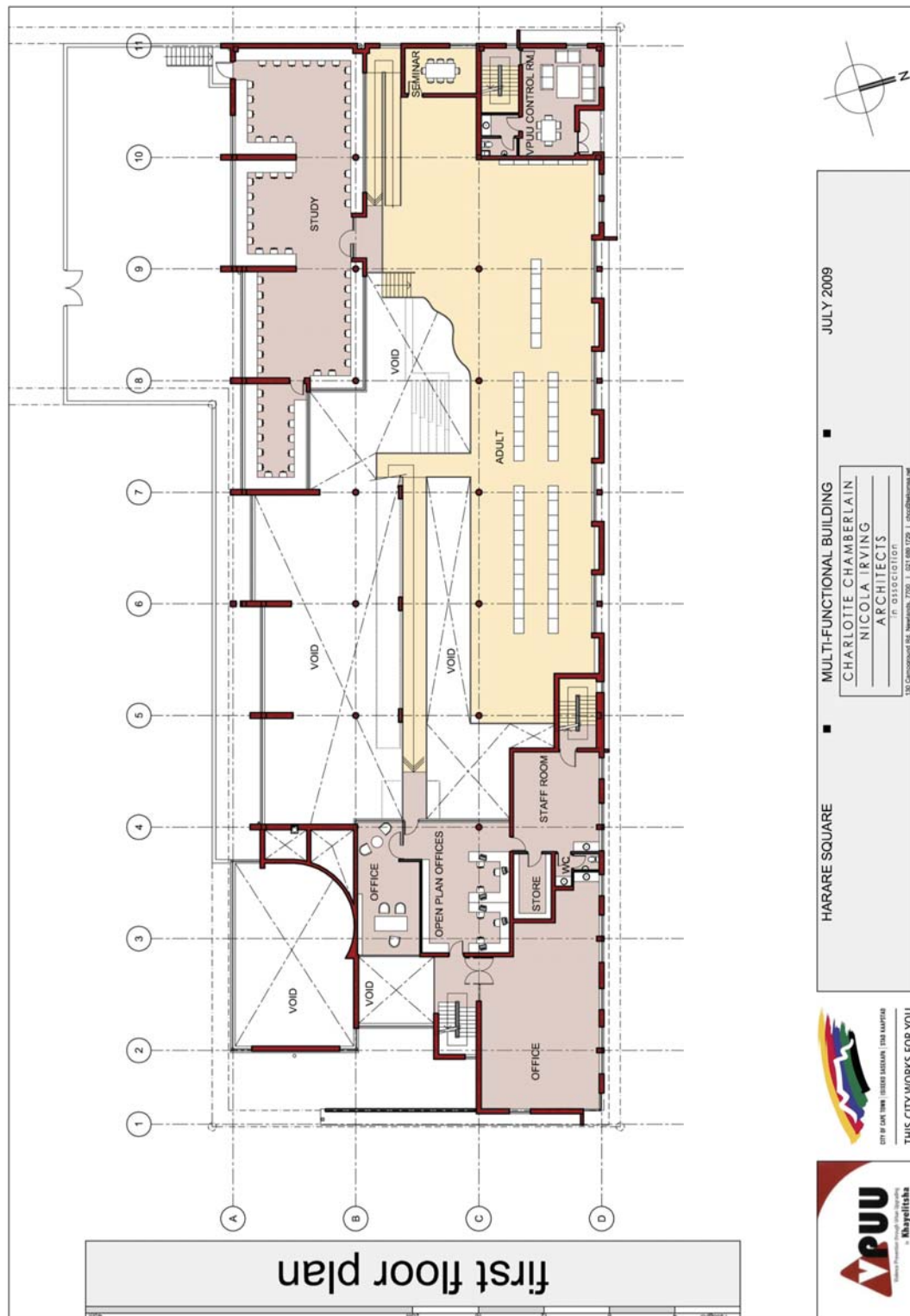
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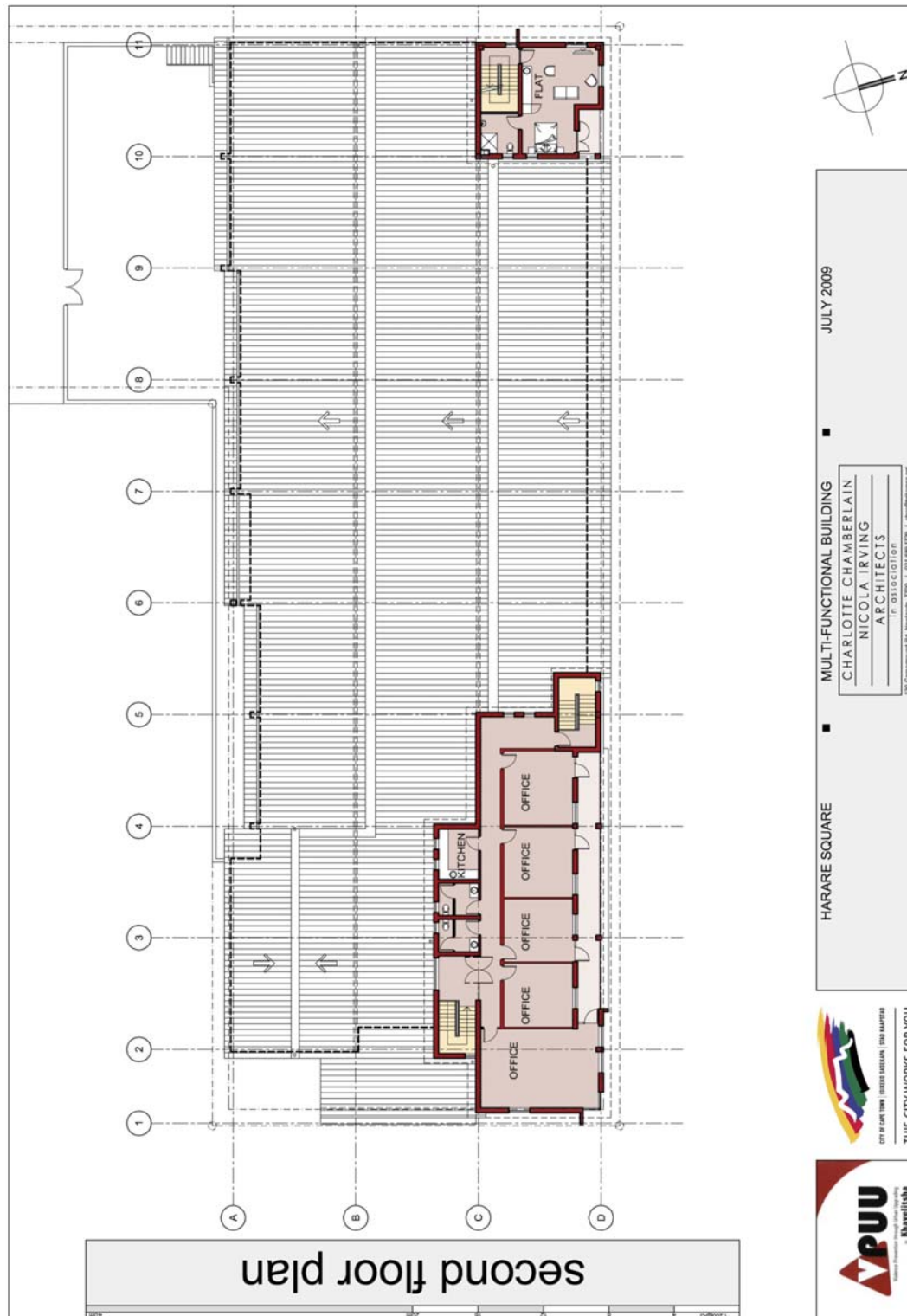
4.2 Library project - 2009

Charlotte Chamberlain and Nicola Irving architects for VPUU.









harare square (east) elevation

HARARE SQUARE

MULTI-FUNCTIONAL BUILDING

CHARLOTTE CHAMBERLAIN

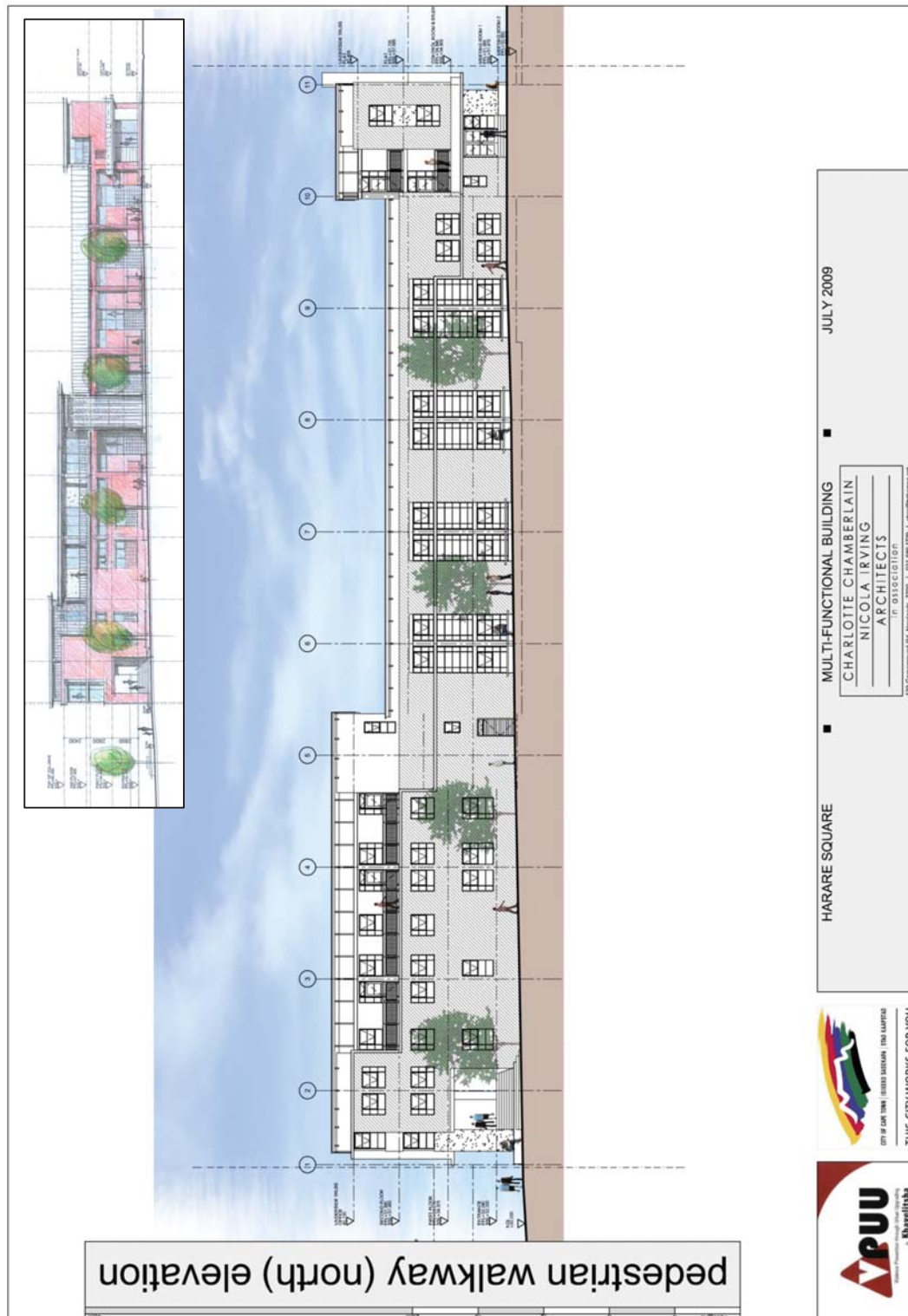
NICOLA IRVING

ARCHITECTS

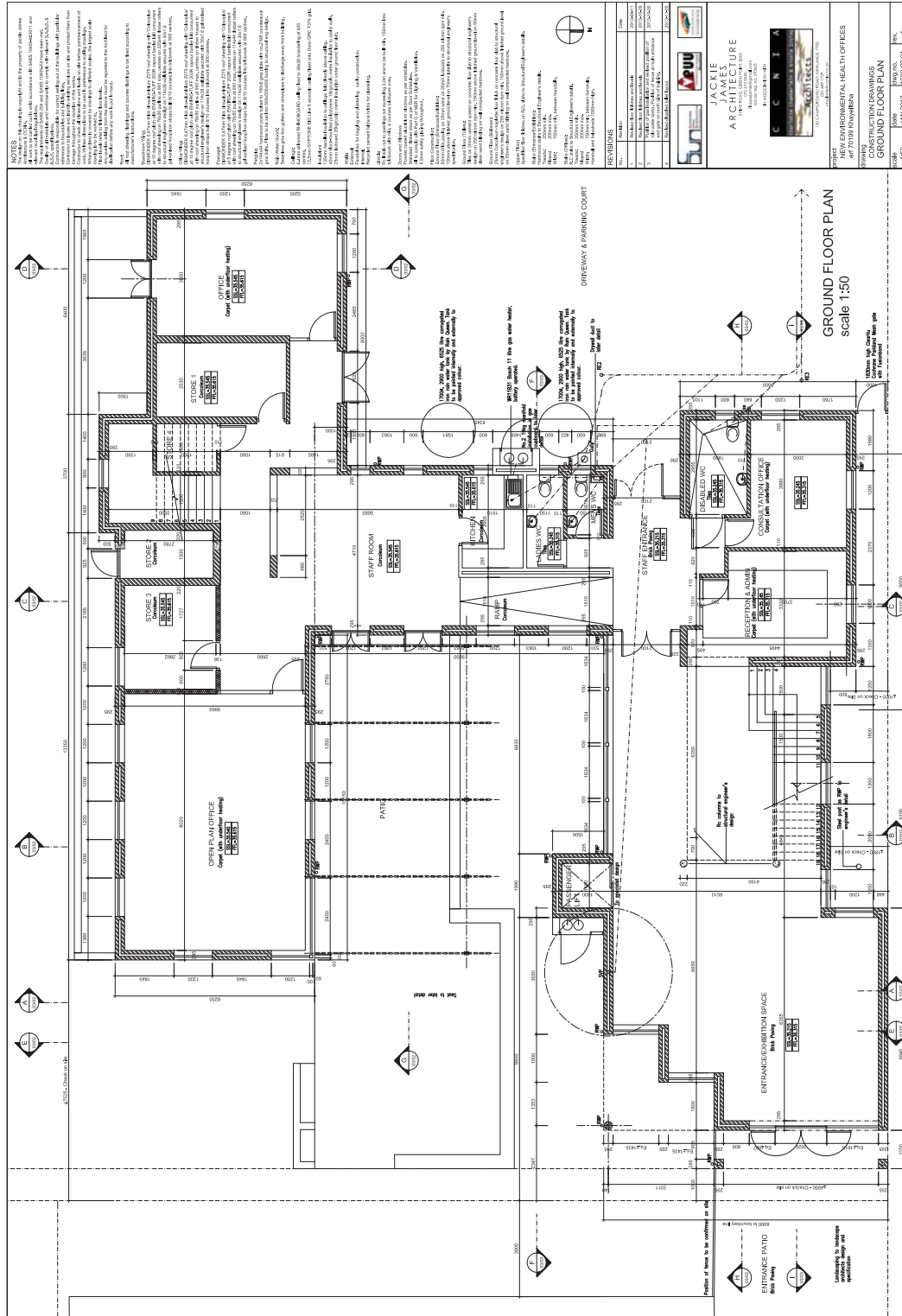
IN ASSOCIATION

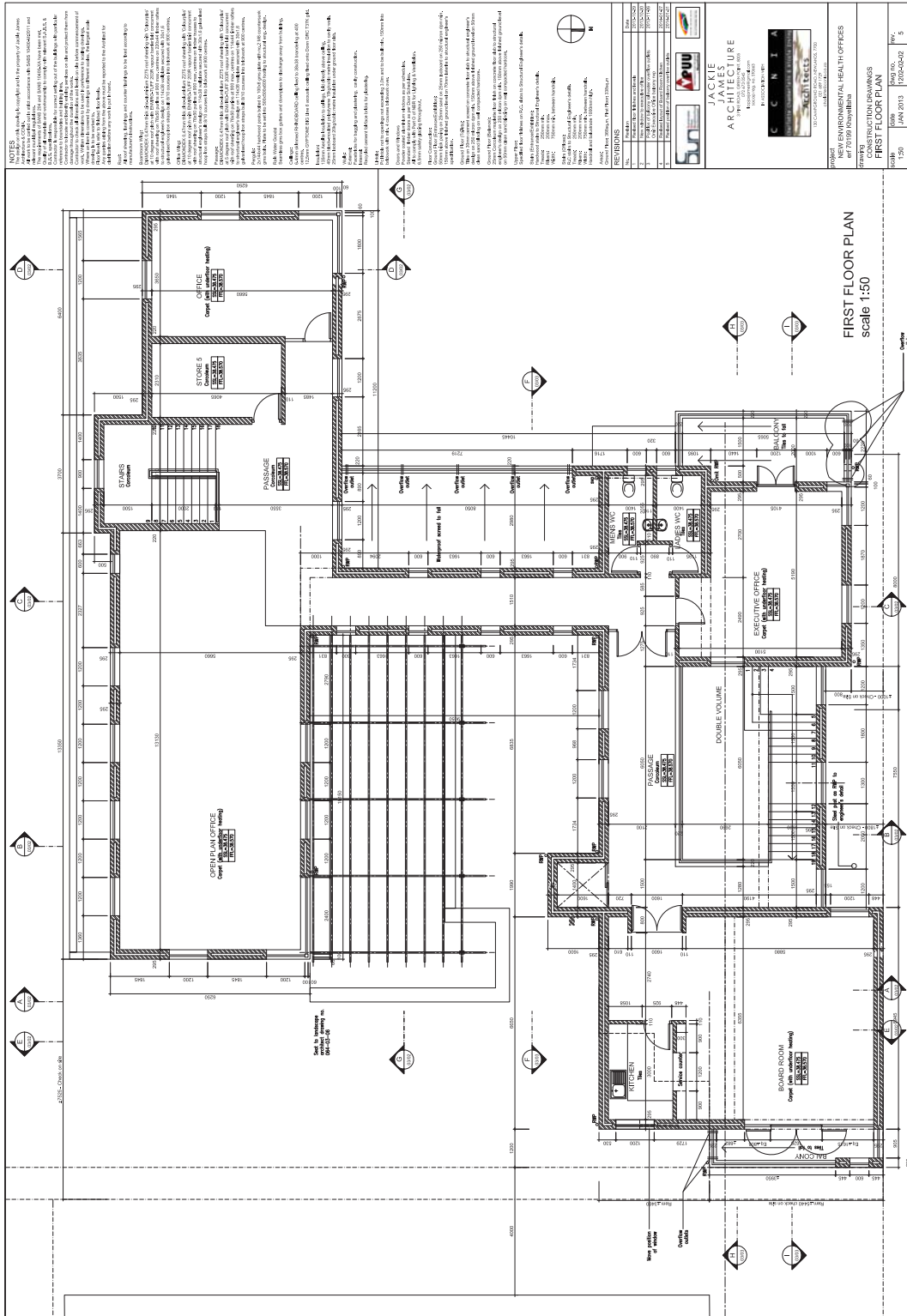
JULY 2009

Preliminary sketches (March 2009) and project drawings (July 2009)



Jackie James, Charlotte Chamberlain and Nicola Irving architects for VPUU.



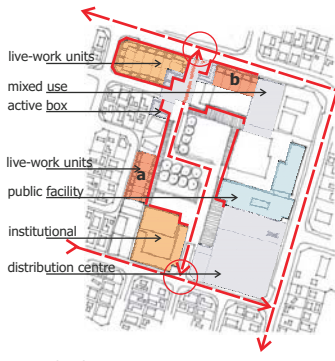


4.4 Live work housing proposal - 2009

Final draft by VPUU (February 02, 2009).


harare urban approach - precinct 4:

The vision for Precinct 4 is to formalise and develop the square as a vibrant place accommodating a wide range of integrated activities and creating a safer environment. These diagrams summarise the overall urban design approach for the square with specific emphasis on land use, active edges and movement systems.




land use

The design approach is to surround the square with new and upgraded developments that will accommodate a wide range of complimentary services and activities including live-work units. In other words create an integrated economic and social node within Harare.



active edges

Creating a range of multi-purpose developments will ensure active edges around the square and along Ncuno Road and therefore contribute to the perception of safety in the precinct.



movement systems

Precinct 4 is largely pedestrianised, with limited vehicular movement and parking. The primary pedestrian movement will be defined and focused around and through the square.

4

live-work housing survey:

A sample survey of seven live-work housing requirements in Harare was undertaken in October 2007 in order to inform the design process. The survey provided the following information:

- Spatial requirements for varying live-work relationships.
- The varying specialist equipment and processes for each operation.
- The perceptions and realities of crime.
- The relationship between living and working components.
- Other needs and requirements.

See Appendix A - "Live-Work Site Visit Report".


The business survey conducted by VPUU in the Harare and Kuyasa areas where 3000 businesses were identified and 540 interviewed provided additional key design informants:

- product or service
- current location and desired location
- current resources
- effect of crime
- stock issues, eg. re-stocking, location of suppliers, etc.
- potential reasons for the development of their business
- employees and their details.

Two clear living and working patterns emerged from the sample survey:

1. Some businesses such as the metal workers and upholsterers keep work functions very separate from their living functions.
2. On the other hand, businesses such as small scale sewing and beading enterprises have a complete integration of both functions within the home.

These outcomes provided key informants to the design process.



5

live-work design approach:

The way in which a house grows spatially can be seen not only as a reflection of family growth but also of income growth as well. The VPUJ vision for live-work units is to develop sustainable housing in a safe environment that is not only a home but also an opportunity for income generation. The approach therefore is that they are incubators for economic growth by either housing the 'work' component, such as a sewing or upholstery workshop or by creating a rental income.

As a response to this approach the designs have been informed by a number of key factors:

- To provide a basic unit that will accommodate a living component and a home-based working component and that will be able to grow incrementally to suit the growth needs of both the living and working components and cater for a range of work or commercial requirements.
- Use the 'row' house model to create an urban edge that responds positively to the street and the square. The street-facing accommodation is double storey with a combination of living and working activities to maximise the 'eyes on the street'. Growth will therefore occur inwards.
- 'Backyard Accommodation': This was not encountered in the survey, however it is prevalent in Khayelitsha and presents a significant income stream.
- Flexibility of design: The design of the units ensures flexibility of use that will suit the users, for example, dry wall panels that can be replaced with garage doors or allow for easy extensions have been incorporated into the designs.
- Disposable Income: The houses are designed as a basic or 'starter' unit that can grow in a variety of ways that best suits the needs of the residents.
- Design Standards: The design of the units will consider the appropriate choice of materials, energy efficiency, water saving and environmental issues.
- Special needs: The designs are sufficiently robust to incorporate or adapt for the needs of disabled residents.

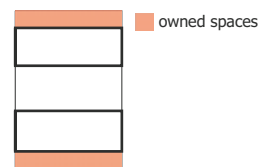
Two live-work housing typologies have been developed for the Harare Square scenario. The Type 'A' units investigate various options for separating the living and working components of a house while Type 'B' investigates the integration of these two functions.

6



live-work design approach:

owned spaces



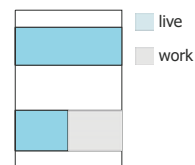
Owned space refers to the semi-public space between public and private spaces; street and house. These transition spaces are intended to reflect a community's sense of ownership and identity of an environment.

internalised court



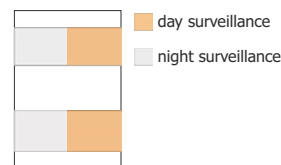
The internalised courtyard provides a space for privacy, safety and storage.

live-work



This refers to the relation of live & work components within the house unit their relation to each other and the street.

day & night surveillance



The location of activities of both day and night use, highlighting the natural surveillance that is achieved through integrated live-work functions.

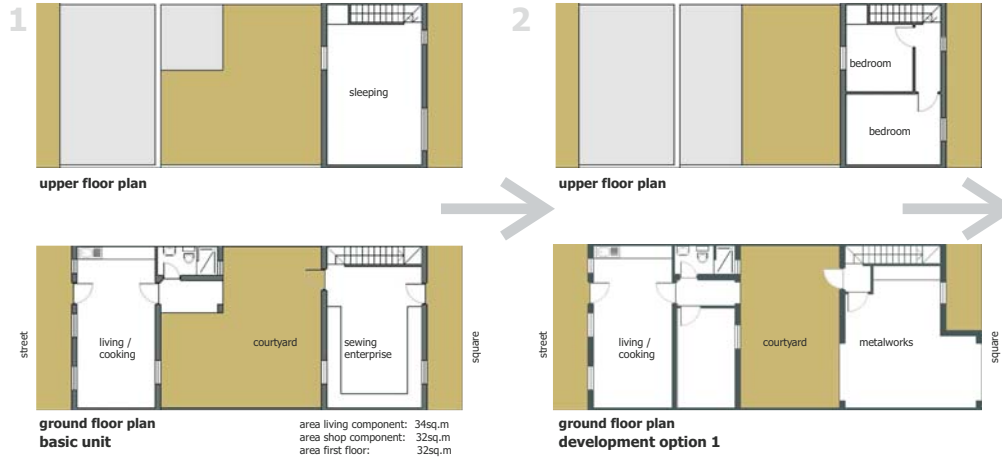
7

live-work housing typologies:

TYPE 'A'

The Type 'A' unit has been developed for sites that have dual entrances. In the case of Harare Square, they are suitable for the sites that have access from Cephe Crescent and the square. The buildings facing onto the square are double storey, with the work component at ground floor level and a living component at first floor level. The work components are designed in a way that allows them to be adapted and extended to accommodate a range of requirements such as metal workers or upholsters.

The buildings facing Cephe Crescent are single storey living units in keeping with the scale of the residential neighbourhood. These units can be easily extended into the courtyard to provide additional accommodation.



live-work housing typologies:

TYPE 'A'

Development Option 2 indicates various options for the subdivision and extension of the various components of the buildings as a family grows or becomes more prosperous.

Development Option 3 investigates vertical growth within both buildings which allows for the separation of users.



live-work housing

TYPE 'A'



view from harare square

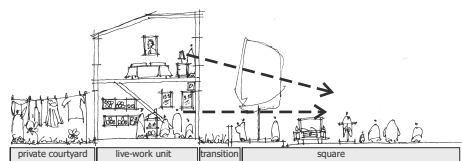
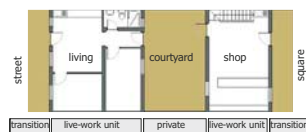


view from cephe crescent

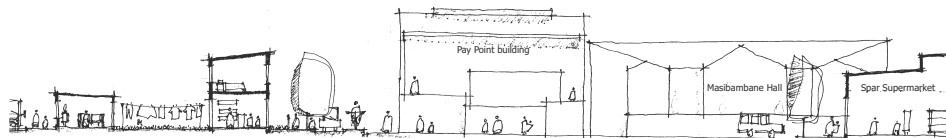
10

live-work housing typologies:

TYPE 'A'



The mixed use nature of the live-work units promotes greater activity and ensures extended hours of natural surveillance over the square. The positioning of the buildings on the edge of the site allows for a transition from a very public edge to the privacy of the courtyards.



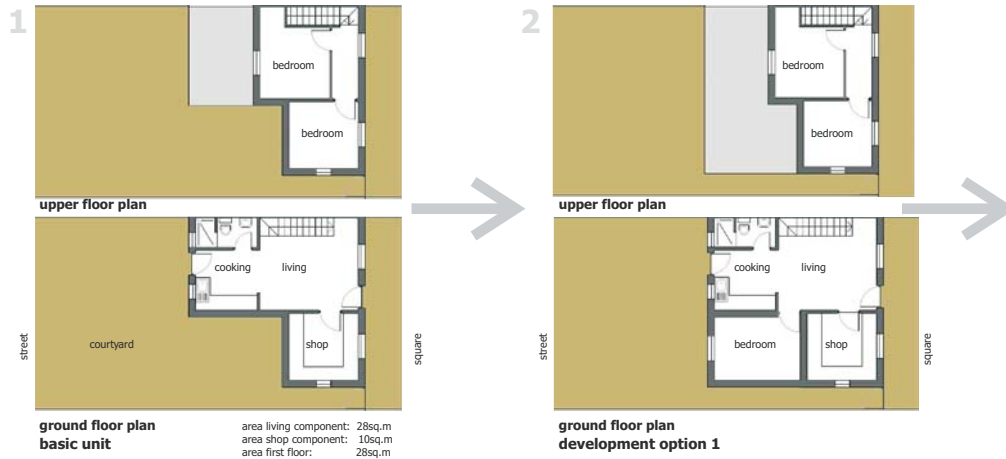
This sketch section through Harare Square demonstrates the relationship of the live-work units to the Pay Point Building, Masibambane Hall and the Spar Supermarket. The units establish a firm urban edge to the square contributing to the animation and safety of the square.

11

live-work housing typologies:

TYPE 'B'

The Type 'B' unit has been developed for businesses such as sewing or beading enterprises where the manufacturing and sales activities are a integral part of the home. As with the Type 'A' units these buildings are positioned of the front edge of the site creating a positive edge to the square and allowing for the later extension of the units into the courtyards.



live-work housing typologies:

TYPE 'B'

Development Options 3 shows how the commercial component can be extended into the courtyard. This additional space could also accommodate an additional bedroom or a larger cooking area. Development Option 4 investigates the opportunity for the development of 'backyard' accommodation as an additional source of income.

